

EASTERN WORLD



PAKISTAN - INDIA - S.E. ASIA - FAR EAST - PACIFIC

OCTOBER 1949

LONDON

Vol. III. No. 10

Will Chinese Communists Attack Hong Kong?

by
LEWIS GEN

Civil Liberty in India

by
AN INDIAN LAWYER

The Men From Tibet

by
NORMAN COLGAN

Oil Resources in the Far East

by
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EASTERN WORLD

Published by **EASTERN WORLD Ltd.**

45 DORSET STREET, LONDON, W.1

Telephone: WELBECK 7439

Cables: TADICO

Editor & Managing Director : H. C. TAUSSIG

Distribution Director : E. BIRD

SUBSCRIPTION: £1 post free to all countries

AIR MAIL : £3

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EASTERN WORLD

Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial, opinions are being published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of the paper.

NETHERLANDS-INDONESIAN UNION

The Round Table Conference between Dutch and Indonesian Delegations at The Hague produced no apparent result for a month, but now announcements state that a large measure of agreement has been achieved on a number of important points which had previously divided the delegations. At the time of going to Press, complete details of the measure of agreement are not yet known, but that it includes the form and content of the Union is clear.

It seems that the Netherlands Delegation in The Hague first put forward their maximum demands, but have now agreed on compromise proposals. The maximum demands included close and permanently binding links between the Union partners. Such a demand paid no attention to the psychological, but no less real, difficulties facing the Indonesian Delegations. Apart from the constitutional demands made by the Dutch—that is, those demands concerned with the form and content of the Netherlands Indonesian Union, the financial and economic issues raised have also been a considerable stumbling block, and it is perhaps on these specific issues that the Indonesian Delegations have been most determined.

However, the news that substantial progress has been made on the difficult question of the Union is encouraging, since it demonstrates again that realism is triumphing over emotional difficulties. It may be that the Dutch put forward their maximum demands in the full knowledge that they could retreat if necessary, and that they could gain prestige and even tactical advantage from their retreat. Whatever the explanation, the fact that more reasonable councils

have prevailed is encouraging, and if the spirit of compromise and realism continues, there is no reason why the Round Table Conference should not end in complete success. If it does, and the democratic nations of the world are deeply involved in the outcome, then the forces of peaceful progress in Asia will have been immensely strengthened.

CHINESE CHANGES

The establishment of a Communist Government in China at this moment is an astute political move. By this action, the Mao-Tse-tung regime has eliminated the last obstacle in the way of co-operation between the Chinese Communists and the Governments and trading interests of the West. The economic health of China depends very greatly upon these trading interests, but equally it must not be forgotten that the smooth running of trade is valuable for both sides.

With the establishment of a Government, *de facto* recognition at least is now rendered immediately possible, and many of the legal barriers to the resumption of trade have been removed. Britain has nothing but gain to hope for from a lowering of the bars against diplomatic and trade intercourse with the Communists. The many trading concerns in China and particularly in Shanghai are in a parlous condition, and unless emergency measures are taken to assist them, they may be faced with the *fait accompli* that much of the industrial potential of the city has been moved to other areas.

The men on the spot, many of them "Old China Hands," are becoming increasingly aware that contact and co-operation with the Communist authorities is necessary, and that the ending of the Nationalist blockade—which is in any case a humiliating affair—is an essential. It is a general feeling in Shanghai that if it had not been for this blockade the economic life of the city would have been well restored by this time, particularly as the shortage of fuel has been so successfully overcome by the conversion from oil to coal.

At this stage it is again fair to pose the question as to what advantage Britain hopes to gain from continuing the long standing spiritual

and political blockade of the mass of Chinese people.

The advances of the Communist forces and the rapid collapse of the inept and corrupt Kuomintang regime have stripped this blockade of the last remnant of reality. Political realism today underlines the argument that constructive measures designed to improve the lot of the millions of wretched people in the country will ultimately pay big dividends to those countries which are sufficiently wise to put them into operation. We must remember that the initiative in China is not in the hands of Britain, but in the hands of Mao Tse-Tung. If we wish to salvage what remains of our prestige and our hopes in China, we must not be afraid of facing the facts and accepting responsibility. The facts are that the Kuomintang regime has collapsed, in spite of the assistance given to it, and the Communists are virtually in control of the country. The responsibility is for us to accept this position and utilise it to the best advantage of the Chinese people and democracy.

Even if America, as seems possible, is abandoning China to her fate, there is no need for Britain to follow suit. If a new policy was jointly decided upon at the Washington talks, common-sense demands that the corrupt Formosa clique should be dropped and advances made towards those who are—however unpalatable the fact may be—the real masters of China.

Ambiguous wording in the August issue has unfortunately created the impression amongst some readers that we doubted whether Formosa was Chinese territory. We realise, of course, that until the treaty of Shimoneski at the end of the last century, the island was part of China. The treaty of Shimoneski transferred it to Japan. We also know that during the Cairo conference it was agreed that Formosa should be restored to China after the war. It was our intention to convey the idea that, as long as the Japanese peace treaty has not been signed Formosa should be an allied responsibility and should not be permitted to remain the headquarters of activities which cripple the peaceful shipping of those very nations which were responsible for the Cairo decision.

THE SOVIET IMPACT ON THE EAST

by J. Winter

NO analysis of general current developments in the Eastern world, or estimate of its future, can overlook the U.S.S.R. Yet the importance of this element in the situation is widely underestimated in one respect by Western observers. The present tendency to regard the Soviet "way of life" with repugnance is a form of reasserting certain basic values in Western political and intellectual life. This tendency makes it increasingly difficult not only to assess objectively the inherent strength of the Soviet system (i.e., whether it makes sense in its own terms, not ours) but also to assess the influence of the Soviet example on the Eastern countries, where Western values are either irrelevant or only skin deep. Soviet Russia has always had feet of clay in Western eyes—because of her one-party system and her elimination of private enterprise; and lately because of her extension of political control into the arts and science. All these characteristics go counter to the foundations of our own type of society and its recent traditions. We know that Britain could not exist if organised on the same principles, and we therefore tend to assume that (a) the U.S.S.R. is a temporary phenomenon, and (b) that no other nation could really desire to emulate her. This is an insular point of view which may be particularly misleading in estimating the course of developments in China, India, Indonesia and smaller Eastern lands, to whose inhabitants, both inarticulate and educated, the Soviet structure may make a powerful appeal, which would make Russia a political factor in the East of much deeper and more lasting importance than mere territorial ambitions on her part.

The applicability of the Russian revolution to the East rather than to the West seems to have been recognised by Lenin shortly before he died, when he wrote (in 1923): "In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe." The victory of the Communists in China and their ineffectiveness in Britain and the U.S.A. seem to support his view. The great nations of Asia have much in common with the Russians and may well be prepared to pay the same sort of price for the same sort of achievements.

The outstanding feature of Russian economic development under the Communists is the speed and independence of her industrialisation. Western authorities on Soviet statistics are agreed that output figures in physical terms (such as tons of coal or kw hours of electric power) can be accepted. There is difference of opinion on the Soviet figures of total industrial production, which are given in money value: these claim a more than six-fold increase in the twelve years of the pre-war plans (1928-1940) and an increase of Russia's share in the world's industrial production from about 3 per cent. to 14 per cent. in the same period. If these figures exaggerate, the general picture of an unprecedentedly

rapid transformation of an agricultural into an industrial country is correct. The increase for some key industries was:

| | Output in 1928 | Output in 1940 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Coal (in millions of tons) ... | 35 | 166 |
| Oil (in millions of tons) ... | 11 | 31 |
| Pig iron (in millions of tons) ... | 3 | 15 |
| Steel (in millions of tons) ... | 4 | 18 |
| Electric power (in billion kwh) ... | 5 | 48 |

The production of other capital goods advanced as fast (and engineering much faster) than the above basic industries. This meant that Russia had become, in the main, independent both economically and militarily, and capable of expanding indefinitely her consumer goods industries from her own resources, and mechanising agriculture.

Since foreign loans and concessions were rigidly refused if they carried any hint of political strings, and were therefore not forthcoming, it might be asked whence came the resources for this lightning industrialisation. The abstinence of an already poor population is only a small part of the answer. (In fact, the deprivations of the first five-year plan were partly due to a worsening in the terms of trade, when Russia's exports fell in price in relation to her imports, as has been the case with Britain since the war). The real source of the Russian industrial revolution was a migration into towns and new manufacturing centres of twelve million people in five years. Like all the Eastern countries, Russia had an immense rural over-population. With the ruthless and inspiring leadership of which so far only the Bolsheviks have shown themselves capable in peacetime, farming was thoroughly reorganised and re-equipped, making it possible for the industrial population to be nearly trebled (11 million wage earners in 1928 and 30 million in 1940). The essential soundness of this achievement has been demonstrated by the surprising resilience of Soviet economy in the war and its rapid recovery since: production in industry is already 41 per cent. higher than its pre-war level, well ahead of the 1946-50 five-year plan, and this without American aid.

The newly awakened nations of Asia may share with the West guesses as to the number of people in Soviet penal labour camps, their treatment and their relative importance in the economy. But if they make any serious study of Russian planning experience they will know that the absence of slumps and unemployment is not due to any temporary construction boom or to labour camps, but results from the principles of economic and political organisation introduced into Russia by the Communists. Moreover, Russia's industrial revolution has been accompanied by a comprehensive system of social insurance and a 7-8 hour day, introduction of universal schooling and a vast development of higher education and research appropriate to a powerful and independent country. Perhaps these advantages are likely to come Asia's way if her mentors continue to be found in the western world, but

her experience tells a different story. And it is unlikely, with the Soviet example before them, that the Asiatic countries will want to follow the relatively very slow tempo of the classical western industrial revolutions.

China appears to have made her choice. Recent statements by her new leaders make it clear that they intend, as was expected, to follow the Soviet pattern of industrialisation. This will inevitably bring with it not only central planning but the centralised control of ideas by the Communists as the predominant and eventually the sole party in the state. Like the Bolsheviks, they will take over not only all political authority, but will also express and direct a single general line of development in the nation's intellectual and artistic life. This is the sort of thing that educated westerners find it so difficult to see any country as *choosing*, and consequently jump to the conclusion that such a system can only be imposed by force—by "The Kremlin" in Russia, and by Russia in China. In fact, however, the Soviet system in all its main political, economic and intellectual features is a fully viable alternative to the western structure of modern industrial society, and one with a very strong appeal to the Eastern nations as they face their future in the harsh modern world. Russia is leaving nothing to chance in production, ideas and social resilience, to prepare to take the strain of an atom war and to reach as quickly as possible what she calls a "fully Communist society." This is certainly uncomfortable to scientists, philosophers and artists who prefer a Western independence of judgment; but the Soviet route towards national strength, prosperity and the things of the spirit, including the search for truth, is not necessarily the less effective for that. The political and intellectual freedom of the West is, after all, a recent and local phenomenon in human history. In any case, the submerged masses of the Orient know nothing of this freedom, which does not necessarily have to appear in the East, at least not in its Western forms. The great populations of Asia and Africa have never lost some sort of integration, however tenuous, in their social organisation. They are more likely to pass from the integration of

religion and custom to the new integration offered by Communism, rather than to drop this quality altogether and to plunge into the "every man for himself" of free competition and the market. Moreover, they may insist, as the Russians have been doing, that their scientists and artists accept the requirements of society as determining the general pattern of their specialist work: a policy which western science and art could hardly survive, just because they exist in a different kind of society. But this does not mean that the social control of the specialists, by the modern philosopher kings of Communism, would not fit the requirements of non-Western nations, whose immediate need is to take over and effectively apply for their own development the immense stock of knowledge and technical skill accumulated by the past few centuries of western individualism.

The emergence of backward areas to the forefront of world affairs has always been accompanied by the rise and expansion of a body of ideas and a new form of social organisation. The last such stage was the period of North Atlantic predominance, of which the form of organisation was the market and free enterprise, associated with the ideas of Protestantism and science as we have known it. If the coming generations are to see the rise of Asia, it is not unlikely that the accompanying form of organisation will be full economic planning and the single party, with social control of the scientists and the Marxist mode of thought.

To sum up: the long-term forces are working in favour of a Soviet Asia, if the U.S.S.R. can appear as a viable and effective system to Eastern eyes. Western observers would be ill advised in regarding this as unlikely just because they themselves dislike the Soviet system, or rather what they know of it. The long-term forces of social change can be delayed by vigorous intervention, but this involves two dangers: the change may thereby be precipitated, as in China; and the requisite effort may soon prove to be beyond the strength of the intervener if he is working against and not with history, and may thus promote his own undoing.

RUSSIA AND THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

by O. M. Green

AMONG many speculations as to the future development of Chinese Communism none is more important than that of its relations with Soviet Russia. Mr. Acheson's recent White Paper stated clearly that the American attitude towards China, in other respects at present purely negative, would depend on the extent to which the Communists came directly or indirectly under Russian influence. It needs no expert knowledge of international affairs to picture the terrible consequences likely to ensue from a China dominated and directed by the Kremlin.

It is generally agreed that Russia has given the Communists no material help, apart from facilitating their entry into Manchuria by telling them when Russian troops were evacuating a city some days before she told Nanking and allowing them to collect the Japanese Kuantung

Army's huge military stores. In Peking today the Russian consul is as much denied communication with the Communist authorities as his foreign colleagues and no trace can be found of Russian influence in the Communist's actions.

On the other hand, Communist speakers and publications abound in adulation of the Soviet and in stressing China's solidarity with Russia. A good deal has been heard of Mao Tse-tung's deviationist tendencies; some have even seen in him a future Chinese Tito. But the Chinese Communist Party, of which Mao is chairman, though obviously not concerned, was among the first to denounce Tito; and an article by Mao last December seems to make his own position clear.

"The October Revolution (he wrote) showed the correct way to the emancipation of the peoples of the world . . . developed to a world scale by the brilliant

leadership of Comrade Stalin. Is there any other revolutionary front apart from this? . . . The working class and the people as a whole cannot be successfully led against imperialism without a revolutionary party based on the ideological, organisational and theoretical principles of Marxism and Leninism and guided by the all-powerful ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The Communist Party of China is built on the example of the Soviet Union and . . . is an integral part of the international anti-imperialist campaign."

Early in July General Chu Teh, the Communist Commander-in-Chief, speaking at the inauguration of a Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Peking, said: "The experience of 32 years has fully borne out the fact that the great Socialist country, the Soviet Union, is the closest and most reliable friend of the Chinese people." Chu Teh's history is wild; but it is what he said that matters.

Lastly on August 1st, the Communist Press jubilantly announced that a trade agreement had been concluded with Russia by the North East (that is Manchuria) which would send to Russia soya beans, vegetable oil, maize and rice, in exchange for industrial equipment, motor vehicles, oil, piece goods, paper, medical supplies and instruments. It is perhaps worth noting that the agreement concerns only Manchuria where Russia is strongest. But according to Communist publications it has been acclaimed by all "the masses of liberated China," including, quaintly enough, the "Shanghai economists and industrialists," who have no discernible interest in it whatever and appear to be suffering from Communist rule hardly less than foreigners.

What does all this really mean? Is it the sincere expression of solid feelings which will give birth to the world's perhaps most formidable alliance? Or is it only the poetic exuberance of a honeymoon which under the stress of realities will change to something far less dulcet? As against the high flown propaganda of Chinese journalists, there are certain hard realities not to be forgotten.

The outstanding fact repeatedly demonstrated in the past 25 years—in Outer Mongolia now virtually a part of the U.S.S.R., Manchuria and Korea—is that Russian imperialism and Russia's thirst for expansion in Asia are exactly the same under the Bolsheviks as under the Tsars. Furthermore, it is clear that these aims are pursued without the slightest regard for whether China is held by Nationalists or Communists. What will pay best in the long run is the Kremlin's only rule.

The Sino-Soviet Treaty concluded with Dr. T. V. Soong in Moscow in August, 1945, was much more favourable to the Chinese Nationalist Government than had been generally expected. At that time the Chinese Communists were comparatively "small beer" in the remote northwest of China; and it was observed by many writers that Stalin evidently thought that General Chiang Kai-shek, backed by the U.S.A. and Great Britain and then at the zenith by his prestige, would have no difficulty in asserting his power over all China. Ideological sympathy for the Communists, therefore, counted for nothing.

An event little noticed abroad but of great significance was the extension, for five years, of the Russo-Chinese air transport agreement concluded in June. At that time, it will be remembered, the Chinese Government was already a mere phantom hovering uncertainly in Canton, but, as it still is, the officially recognised

Government of China. Under this agreement Russia has monopolist rights to fly planes from Alma Ata in Soviet Turkestan across the vast province of Sinkiang to Hami, the oasis city on the borders of Kansu, with full use of airfields and radio stations *en route*. China may not fly planes even to and from Chinese cities between these points, nor is she fully represented on the board of directors. The original agreement was nominally on a 50-50 basis in management. But it has never worked that way and has been a dead loss to China. Now in its extension Russia has evidently used the Chinese Government's weakness to get monopoly control of Sinkiang's air routes under an agreement not legally to be challenged.

For 25 years past Sinkiang has been drawn more and more into the Russian orbit, partly through political events too long to detail, partly because the adjoining Turk-Sib railway provides convenient trade route while caravans going eastwards have a six weeks' journey across the Gobi Desert. Sinkiang is three-quarters surrounded by Russian or (which is the same thing) Outer Mongolian territory and about a third of the province is in the hands of pro-Soviet anti-Chinese rebels. Even if Russia does not actually annex Sinkiang, as it has long been believed she means to do, her air monopoly gives her unrivalled hold over a country composed of oases dotted about in deserts, and it is highly probable that Sinkiang will before long go the way of Outer Mongolia. The Kremlin's haste to put through the extension of the air transport agreement before the recognised Government of China vanishes altogether can be hardly more to the taste of the Chinese Communists than the virtual loss of Sinkiang.

Last and most crucial question of all is that of Manchuria. Under the Yalta agreement (surely one of the maddest as it was one of the most cynically immoral agreements in history) Russia recovered all her rights of control over the Chinese Eastern railway, which runs like a capital T across Manchuria linking Siberia with Vladivostok, and down to Dairen and Port Arthur in the Kwantung peninsula, together with the control of these two ports. Joint management by Russia and China of ports and railway was provided for in the Russo-Chinese Treaty of 1925; but this has never been fulfilled, all Nanking's efforts to get a footing even in Dairen and Port Arthur being steadily repelled.

News from Manchuria is very scarce. But if the Communists had obtained any share in the running of Dairen and Port Arthur, they would have trumpeted it to the world. One report, which appears to be authentic, describes the Manchurian railways as now purely Russian—management, engine-drivers, guards, car attendants, etc., etc. all Russian. There are reports of Russia's pressing for political and economic concessions in Manchuria, unconfirmed but not unlikely. The plain fact is that whoever holds the railways and two principal ports holds Manchuria. Russia has coveted Manchuria for over 50 years; and her most infatuated admirer would hardly claim that she is more likely to surrender her hold to the Chinese Communists than to the Nationalists.

Conversely, the possession of Manchuria is for China not only a matter of "face" and pride, but of infinite importance to her revenue. Larger than France and Germany together, it contains China's richest agriculture, forests, mines and remnants of factories. (That Russia in

1945 stripped them of £181 million worth of their best machinery is very well known by the Communists.) If Chiang Kai-shek had been willing in 1946 to let Manchuria go for the time being and devote himself to sealing up the Communists in it, the history of the past two years might have been very different. Pride and Manchuria's wealth forbade his taking this wiser course. Will the Communists feel otherwise when all China within the Great Wall is theirs, when the heady exuberance born of their extraordinary rapid and far-reaching victories has subsided and in more sober mood they take stock of their empire?

They may conceivably accept, because they cannot break, Russia's domination in Manchuria (and Sinkiang) as the Manchu Court and Chinese Nationalists had to accept the domination by Russia and Japan. But the resentment of China underneath was always deep and

bitter; and today nothing is plainer than that the Communists are imbued with a far more vigorous spirit than their predecessors in government and that on no aim do they insist more strongly than the recovery of China's utmost rights.

In a message to the "Times" on August 7th, the Hong Kong correspondent drew attention to the important and influential group of Communist generals, "some of whom wield great power," and he added:

"Several are known to take the line that they have not spent 20 years in fighting foreign imperialism in order to compromise with Russian imperialism."

Who can think it improbable that the day will come when the hard facts of Manchuria and Sinkiang will decidedly chill the Chinese Communist's present enthusiasm for "the example of the Soviet Union," and "the brilliant leadership of Comrade Stalin"?

WILL THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS ATTACK HONG KONG?

by Lewis Gen (Hong Kong)

WITH the Chinese Communists steadily advancing into South China, and the continuous retreat and disintegration of the Nationalist army, Communist sentinels will appear on the borders of Hong Kong very soon. In view of this situation, not a week has passed without the arrival of transports loaded with troops and equipments from Britain or other places for the defence of this colony. Meanwhile, the Colonial Government here, too, has been busily but quietly preparing for an emergency which many expect to come before long.

Why should the Communist advances be so menacing to the security of Hong Kong? There are several reasons: Like the United States, Britain is a principal capitalistic state in the world and is, therefore, to be held by the Chinese Communists as one of their potential enemies. Of all the foreign settlements and concessions originally wrested from China, Hong Kong now remains the only foreign colony (barring the tiny Portugal one of Macao) yet to be returned. This is in the mind of every Chinese, the question being only how and when. It is for the same reason that with each new regime in China this problem is sure to come up for some time, though it is often merely used by politicians for their own ends.

Hong Kong has for many years been the asylum to mandarins and big brigands, who, after collecting huge fortunes, took flight there with their concubines, either enjoying their ill-gotten wealth in riotous living, or starting up businesses. Most of the high officials of the Nationalist Government have their own—often palatial—houses in Hong Kong. Even before the fall of Mukden and Peiping Nationalist officials and wealthy Chinese from the interior began to flow in; and after the capture of Shanghai by the Communists, the government banks and aviation companies shifted their most valuable assets to this British Colony. In Hong Kong harbour are Chinese Government vessels lying idle, fully laden with cargoes withdrawn from Shanghai. Thus, in the eyes of the Chinese Communists,

Hong Kong is but a refuge to the robbers and thieves of the Chinese public, though the Hong Kong authorities could not legitimately refuse access to them. The Communists are vehement and intolerant enough and all these do give them a good excuse against the British authorities in Hong Kong.

There is another immediate cause for the rather aggravated situation and that is the Amethyst case. Originally, the Communists seemed to be by no means particularly anti-British, and their relations with the British personnel in the Kailan mines were reported to be satisfactory. It was further known that the British businessmen were seeking with good hope of success to establish trade relations with the Communists, which was and still is, welcome to the latter. Then the British frigate Amethyst was shelled by the Communists in the Yangtse. This seems to be a really unfortunate incident, for judging by the general situation we have no doubt the ship was on a peaceful mission. But at a time when it was well known that the Communists would very likely start their cross-river operation that very evening we cannot understand what made her venture up the Yangtse, notwithstanding such arguments as "we have a right" or "we obtained the permission from the Nanking Government." This incident caused casualties on both sides. Then three months later, in effecting her escape, the frigate allegedly (by the Communists) caused the further loss of several hundred Chinese lives by the sinking of a passenger boat—either by the ill-aimed gunfire from the bank or by that from Amethyst for self-defence. The Communists let out another burst of invectives which were just as loud as the applauses on the British side for the "skill, bravery and resolution" of the Amethyst crew.

In spite of all this, however, an attack on Hong Kong by the Communists appears very improbable in the foreseeable future, simply because these reasons as cited above are counter-balanced by still stronger ones:

During the past year the Communists have already expanded too rapidly and left behind many areas of "vacuum." In these areas there exist today various armed bands who just went into hiding or patched up some sort of hasty understanding with the Communists. After a short while the chieftains of those fighting bodies will grow discontented and will have to be dealt with again. Some of these mopping-up operations have already been reported in the Communist papers. Thus, after wresting South China from the Nationalists, the Communists must halt for some time to consolidate what they have gained. It would, therefore, be downright madness to start a foreign war, the outcome of which is unpredictable.

A war with Britain would inevitably involve the United States, as clearly indicated in the recently published White Paper and it would be very doubtful whether Russia would take up arms in aid of the Chinese Communists. It must further be pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party is very well organised and politically mature with a small group of highly politically-minded, cool, shrewd and experienced people on top. It is, therefore, very improbable that they will make the big blunder.

Finally, the Chinese Communists are at present working energetically for the industrialisation of China. They are badly in need of materials and equipments and so they are anxious to establish trade relations with foreign countries on their own terms, of course. Owing to the blockade, the Communists must feel it hard to maintain the industrial life of their major cities, but the fall of Canton will bring them into direct contact with Hong Kong and the blockade will be immediately neutralised. Indeed, it is hard to see why they should prefer to have themselves shut in by attacking Hong Kong; for as soon as Hong Kong fell into their hands, the port would become useless and the blockade would be rendered doubly effective.

Now on the British side, whether it be for the ornamental value as one gem on the Crown or for its commercial value as an international port, Britain is resolved not to part with Hong Kong at present. During the past few months, the defence strength of this Colony has been greatly increased, and it is believed that the reinforcements already arrived, air, naval as well as ground forces, total well over 20,000 and are already sufficient to put the Colony on a war footing. This is wise on the part of the British authorities. In a period of transition and confusion on the mainland, military force is not only

necessary for the maintenance of internal order, but it is also a precaution against military adventurers who would not hesitate to come in and sack the city whenever they think they are strong enough to do so.

However, while an attack on Hong Kong is very improbable, a "cold" war appears unavoidable. For there will be a lot of things in Hong Kong that will be hard for the Communists to endure, such as the unequal treatment of the Chinese nationals, supposed or real protection given to so-called "war criminals" and the presence of an immense quantity of property rightly belonging to the Chinese people. But cold war requires as much skill and courage and even more self-control than "hot" war. It is not impossible that after a series of quarrels and arguments, both may finally understand the other's point of view much better.

However, there is one source of anxiety: the inflation of Hong Kong currency. The stability of the Hong Kong dollar has contributed much to the prosperity and peace of this Colony. According to an official announcement, Hong Kong has put into circulation about 750 million dollars in bank-notes, of which a big portion is in the possession of Chinese in and around Canton. But once the Communists capture Canton, the Hong Kong dollars in the Chinese territories will be driven back to Hong Kong; it is feared that due to the growing expenditure of the government on the one hand and the shrinking of business on the other, inflation will inevitably set in. During the past three months the cost of living here has gone up between fifteen and twenty per cent. (mainly attributed to the fall of Hong Kong currency in terms of U.S. dollars) which make the more pessimistically inclined think that Hong Kong is already on the decline. As to the Chinese community in Hong Kong, except a few politically affiliated persons and the vagabond class, none of those who hold some property or earn their living here want war to come to this Colony, but a serious inflation may create endless labour troubles and general unrest. Added to this, agitation from within and blockade from without the Colony could be made desolate and even not worth while keeping.

Thus, it seems perfectly clear that while forbearance and co-operation (where it is possible at all) is beneficial to either, war will be ruinous to both; and, therefore, unless men are willing to be led by folly or mere impulse, an attack by the Communists is very improbable, except in another world war, for which, however, the time is not yet ripe.

JAPAN'S SOCIALISTS FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

by John Kennedy

IN June, 1948, the Tokyo monthly *Jiyu Kokumin* published an analysis of the history, the structure and the future prospects of Japan's political forces. The author, Masao Takahashi, a professor of economics at the Kyushu University, Fukoka, investigated in his article the

changes in Japan's political development after the capitulation of September 2nd, 1945; he came to the not so surprising conclusion that the same circles that had ruled Japan before the Mukden Incident of September, 1931, had regained power after the surrender to the Allies. In

short, bureaucracy and the *zaibatsu* who were in power before the military had taken over completely, had not really capitulated; they only had transformed the surface of the administration by purging an inconsiderable number of major offenders. True, the military disappeared from the general picture, and so did the big landlords but the latter have come into their own again—the August elections to the farmland committees have resulted in an overwhelming victory of the Conservatives (whose candidates, mostly wealthy farmers, had stood as “Independents”) over the Communist-led Labour-Farmer party and the Socialists. Though this does not yet mean that the modest agrarian reform which was initiated on the directives of General MacArthur’s H.Q., is in danger of being abolished, it does mean that future agrarian policy will be decided upon by landlords and owners of larger estates, and not by the majority of farmers, the poorer peasants, smallholders and tenants.

This has happened because the Socialists and opposition Democrats were not prepared to take power and to use it when the political representatives of Japan’s traditional rulers had to enlarge the government’s basis after S.C.A.P. had told them to do so about two years ago. Though the Socialists and—to an extent difficult to assess—also the Communists had the support of the masses of workers and farmers, these masses were politically so uninformed and uneducated that the bourgeois parties tried to associate themselves with the lower middle class and the intelligentsia elements who had joined the Socialists after the re-birth of their party.

Takahashi, himself a left-wing socialist, is not at all

vague about the composition of his party. He calls it a “motley collection of political groups” the extremely weak left wing of which can be regarded as Marxist, whereas the right wing “seems to include almost anything.” Takahashi does not hesitate to say that some of the Socialist Party’s leaders are paying lip-service only to Socialism, and are, in fact, sabotaging it by seeking personal advantages.

How, then, do Mr. Katayama, the chairman of the party, and Mr. Mosaburo Suzuki, the party’s secretary-general, face this situation? When on August 20th, after having travelled in Britain, France, Western Germany and the U.S.A., Katayama landed at Haneda airfield, he stated that social democracy was being acclaimed everywhere as the guiding principle of peaceful reconstruction, and that it would be the salvation for Japan too. But social democracy, he added, must take root in Japan to make the Japanese move in the direction of President Truman’s Fair Deal and the policy of the British Labour Party. Everywhere, Mr. Katayama stated, the power of both Communists and reactionaries was declining, capitalism was undergoing a process of revision and approaching a stage of social democracy, which makes Japanese Conservatives “internationally isolated.”

This mild expression of Fabian socialism culminated in the advice to his party “to put its theory into practice without indulging in ideological discussions.” However, these discussions within the party were, before Katayama’s return home, not so much concerned with the adoption of policies in accordance with President Truman’s Fair Deal as with the fight against the Communists and with

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the democratisation of the party's peasants' and workers' core. Katayama's praise of the British Labour Party and his remarks that there ought to be a Japanese Socialist Party (J.S.P.) embracing all classes of the population, have caused misgivings among the left-wing socialists led by Suzuki who want to build up their party on the Marxist basis of class struggle, and the numerically much stronger remainder of the party who do not share this viewpoint.

Were it not for the two wars which the Japanese socialists have to wage against both the government and the government-protected employers on one hand and the disruptive forces of Communism on the other, the differences of opinion within the J.S.P. might lead to a split. But with the prospect of elections to the Diet expected to take place in March or April next, the J.S.P. simply cannot afford to scatter its forces; on the contrary, every effort is being taken, even by the left-wing leaders, to induce certain members of "middle" groups to join the J.S.P. There are also prominent socialists who contemplate a merger with the Labour-Farmer Party, if and as soon as this group decides "to draw a clear line" against the Communists.

Meanwhile the Communists have transformed the Trade Unions into a battlefield. It is not only a question of ideological differences which is sapping the strength of the Socialists; the Communists with their doctrinaire programme of direct action and open struggle against the Government's dismissals of workers in the industries and public services have a psychologically better approach to the six million organised trade union members than the Socialists who have to explain to their followers that the sabotage preached by the Communists cannot lead to the overthrow of the Yoshida Government but will well-nigh certainly lead to an abortive revolution that would be nipped in the bud by police and occupying forces, if for no other reason than the political and military situation on the mainland of Asia.

The Communists have entrenched themselves in the Japanese counterpart to America's C.I.O., the Socialists model the Federation of Labour Unions on the A.F.O.L. The Communists have a following of large numbers of workers, of some farmers and the so-called progressive intelligentsia. Their tactics are the same as in Western European countries, and so are their aims. But their

activities are curbed by the presence of the occupation forces: to counter a Communist strike appeal it was sufficient to declare such a strike—the railway and communication services were concerned—as illegal.

However, the Japanese Communist Party (J.C.P.) is a new party formed only after the surrender and basically unfamiliar to the docility of the Japanese workers who for decades have learned to obey because disobedience meant imprisonment, torture and, in extreme cases, the concentration camp and death. The tactics of the Communists has already led to dissatisfaction among their party's rank and file, and it is one of the greatest merits of the J.S.P. that it was able to start a Democratisation League in the trade unions notwithstanding the confusion among their members.

This democratisation movement, *Mindo*, is teaching its adherents the basic principles of social democracy, its strategy and tactics. In an atmosphere of growing social unrest and economical insecurity this is no mean task, and the mere fact that *Mindo* followers were able to counter the Communists' provocative actions is proof of the Japanese workers' willingness to learn and to use democratic ways and means. Out of the political vacuum, in which they were forced to live for decades, Japan's socialists are laying the foundations of social democracy.

The Japanese Government are trying to counteract this by highly regrettable and questionable measures. The Upper House Judicial Affairs Committee, for instance, drafted a Bill in August to deal with acts of violence. It stipulated that if any member of any organisation (trade unions, political parties, etc.) committed a crime of violence, the leader of that organisation would be punished too; it would give the authorities the right to detain people arrested for acts of violence for sixty days before indictment, instead of ten days as stipulated by the Criminal Procedure Act.

There cannot be any doubt that this Bill, once it has passed the Diet, will have the same effect of intimidation as the old Dangerous Thoughts Police of pre-surrender times. By such action the government makes *Mindo*'s political education campaign much more difficult than it would be had the Socialists to deal only with Communism. Nor does this sort of government action further the political stabilisation so necessary to the country.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

by O. P. Bhatnager

FOR the first time in her long and colourful history India is going to have a written constitution framed by her own people. It is likely to be passed on October 2nd, birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Nation and a day ever memorable in the history of India. It also is expected that on January 26th, 1950, India will be declared a sovereign Republic and very soon under the scheme of elections provided in the Constitution, office bearers will be elected. At the time of writing, consideration of 315 articles has been completed and the various schedules are still being discussed.

The experiment which is being made in India is a novel one. Before the advent of British rule the country was used to her benevolent or tyrannical despots and was divided into independent states which had come into existence after the decline of the Mughal empire. If we trace the early history of India prior to the arrival of the Muslims we do come across democratic institutions but, during the vicissitudes that followed, they either became completely extinct or lost their usefulness. In the rural areas the village communities, in spite of innumerable onslaughts, retained their old character and Panchayats

resembling direct democracies, continued to function. When the East India Company became the paramount power, its affairs were directed as far as vital issues were concerned, by Leadenhall Street, in London. At the time of the transfer of power from the Company to the Crown, the centre of gravity shifted to Whitehall and the Secretary of State became the chief superintending, directing and controlling authority. With a view to making administration more efficient and economical, the Government introduced the Indian agency in administration and modelled its system on the lines of the administration in England. From 1858-1935 a pattern grew up which we find in existence until today. Growth of national and political consciousness among the people of India led Britain ultimately to part with her power and, instead of promulgating a Constitution for the country, left it to be enacted by the accredited representatives of the people.

The task before the framers of the Constitution has been both easy and difficult. It was easy in the sense that they have before them the models of various democratic countries of the world. But it was also immensely difficult owing to the intricate social and economic life of the country, apart from the complications arising from the widespread illiteracy and lack of political education.

As already mentioned the Constitution provides for a sovereign democratic republic. This fact has been emphasised in the Objective Resolution. India is a completely secular state and is composed of different federated states. The various units are Provinces, States, State Unions and Chief Commissioner's Provinces. The second category needs some elucidation. The States have either been merged, formed into Unions or grouped under units to be centrally administered. Two hundred and fourteen States have been merged, 304 States have been integrated into six unions and 25 States have been taken over by the centre. A Committee of seven has been formed to suggest a Constitution for the unions.

India is thus going to be a federal state. One particular feature which attracts immediate attention is the abolition of the clause guaranteeing communal preservation. Except for the scheduled castes no community has been granted reservation of seats as the Constitution does not recognise any distinction of caste or creed. Scheduled castes, however, have been guaranteed a reservation for ten years after which period the question will be reconsidered. Articles 5 to 27 guarantee the protection of citizenship, fundamental rights, rights of equality and rights relating to religion, property, culture and education and provide for constitutional remedies. A Supreme Court which is to be created has been given general powers to safeguard these rights. Judges of this court, a chief justice and not less than seven other judges are to be appointed by the President.

The Central Legislature will be called the Parliament and will consist of the President and two Houses. They are to be known as the Council of States and the House of the People. The President will be elected by the members of an Electoral College consisting of both Houses of Parliament and the elected members of the legislatures of the states. He is to hold office for five years and can only once be re-elected. The Constitution also provides for a Vice-President, who will be ex-officio chairman of the Council of States and would also hold the office of the

President in case of the latter's death, resignation or removal. The President could be impeached by either House of Parliament. The Council of States will have a maximum strength of 250 members. Twelve out of these will be nominated by the President and the rest shall be representative of the States. The method of election in the case of the Council of State will be indirect. It will be elected by an Electoral College consisting of the elected members of the Legislature of the State, and where it is bicameral, by the elected members of the lower house only. The election of the House of the People will be on the basis of adult suffrage. For purposes of election there will be territorial constituencies, to provide not less than one representative for every 750,000 people, and for more than one representative for every 500,000 people. The strength of the House will not exceed 500. The Council of States is not subject to dissolution but one third of its members will retire every year. The House of the People will be elected for a term of five years.

As regards the central executive there will be in addition to the President a Council of Ministers which will advise the President. The Prime Minister will be appointed by the President and will, in consultation with the latter, appoint other ministers. They will be jointly and individually responsible to the House.

In the States a Governor, nominated by the President, will hold office for a term of five years. He will be aided by a Council of Ministers with a Chief Minister at its head. Every State will have its legislature, consisting of the Governor and one or two Houses as the case may be. The total number of members of the Legislative Council of a State is not to exceed 25 per cent. of the total number of members in the Legislative Assembly of that State. Every Legislative Assembly, unless dissolved before that time, shall continue for five years.

In addition to the clauses providing for the structure at the Centre and the Provinces already discussed, there are clauses which require the establishment of High Courts in Provinces and the appointment of auditors-in-chief and advocate general for each State.

The Constitution provides for powers to the Union Parliament to legislate in the national interest on any subject reserved for legislation by States legislators. Thus the residuary powers are vested in the Centre. Provision has also been made for cases of grave emergency in the Provinces in which the Governor of a State, with the approval of the President, can suspend any provision of the Constitution and take over the administration himself.

The congress has performed a tremendous task. For the effective working of the Constitution, proper political education is necessary and all the different political parties shall have the freedom to state their case. The test of a true people's democracy is that no force is applied by any of the parties for the advancement of their ends and that the people learn to be left free to choose their representatives. The world will watch the advent of this gigantic structure. The first necessity is to guarantee freedom from want of food, clothes and shelter which is at present haunting millions of people in India. The Congress must rise to the occasion and sweep off the dirty cobwebs which have grown of late within its fold, and as the inheritors of Gandhism strive to do things in the real interest of the people.

CIVIL LIBERTY IN INDIA

by an Indian Lawyer

SEDATE and conventional persons like judges of High Courts are least likely to be sentimental and effusive; yet Mr. P. R. Das, the retired judge of the Patna High Court was moved by the present situation in India to be sentimental and effusive in his address to the Civil Rights Conference held at Madras in July, 1949. Besides sentiment, the retired judge's address was a model of close reasoning, deep thought, and a lucid exposition of the history of civil liberty in the civilised nations and a survey of the present state of civil liberty in India. If he criticised the present rulers of India in unmistakable terms, it was because he felt that the situation in the country and the actions of those rulers demanded such condemnation. He had been a judge of a Chartered High Court under the British regime and he knew that the Congress men, when out of power and in opposition had invoked the aid of the High Courts to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus* and *certiorari* whenever they had the necessity; more often than not, they succeeded in such applications even under the "Satanic Government" as the then Government was called. With the advent of independence in 1947, when the Congress party succeeded the British as rulers of India, the fine things said by them on civil liberty were conveniently forgotten; actually the "repressive" laws left by the British as assets and legacy still continue and are augmented by fresh legislation. This deterioration in the position of the people, particularly of the political opponents of the present regime, has roused the conscience of those intellectuals who are not fettered by party affiliations and slogans. The conference presided over by Mr. Das was one of the several conferences which India's intellectuals are organising.

Nowadays Pandit Jawaharlal is in the limelight; his speeches and his actions occupy considerable space in the daily press. Formerly, as a writer and speaker, he did much to emphasize the ideas of freedom and democracy; he is regarded as a passionate devotee of freedom. Fine sentiments and ideas on democracy and liberty flow from his lips and pen naturally enough as for a major part of his active political life he fought to secure democracy and liberty for his country. The members of the Congress party, high or low alike, were accustomed to speak in similar vein till recently. Excellent sentiments on freedom and human rights were uttered by them on the platform and in the press, mostly borrowed from western speakers and writers, from Lincoln to Laski, sources mostly not acknowledged. Fine slogans have been repeated for over three decades and it was expected that the protagonists of political freedom would conduct themselves worthy of their ideals after the British withdrawal from India. But the political independence brought in its wake a party in power, whose only anxiety is to perpetuate its own power and to exclude others from any share in the administration.

At the time of their withdrawal, the British passed on to their heirs and successors all the laws enacted by them during their regime as legacy and assets; among these enactments were many laws which could be used for

restricting the personal freedom of the individuals in certain circumstances. Congressmen always promised that, once in power, they would repeal all these "repressive" laws. But, soon after they took over, they forgot all their fine promises and, worse still, increased the number of "repressive" laws and strengthened their potency for mischief. By a curious irony, these "repressive" laws of the Congress variety are called Public Safety (Security) Acts or Maintenance of Public Order Acts. These names are misnomers; the public are secure enough without these laws and there are no public disorders worth the name calling for the use of such enactments. Their contents, when examined, reveal that the executive has been armed with power to arrest and detain any individual or groups of individuals without resort to courts. The High Courts have been deprived of their former powers to issue writs of *habeas corpus* and in rare cases they may order the release of the detained persons if the grounds stated by the executive for the detention are unsatisfactory or invalid. The number of detentions is large and the number of those released is small. It is no wonder, then, that the intelligentsia in India are saying that the former foreign Government was more indulgent and forbearing.

There is a growing feeling that the present Government wants to perpetuate its power by methods similar to that in Totalitarian countries. No public meetings can be held anywhere without previous magisterial permission or without infringing the orders under Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure or any one of the Security Acts or the usual Police Acts. A cautious and moderate leader like Mr. N. M. Joshi expressed, more in sorrow than in anger, that the first casualty of freedom was civil liberty.

That Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, should have characterised the talks about civil liberty as "bunkum" may be news to men outside India, as he is associated in the minds of millions as the champion of liberty and democracy. At a press conference at New Delhi, however, the Prime Minister did give expression to such a statement and the press reports have not been contradicted. If the head of the Government of India expresses such sentiments as he is reported to have said at the press conference, it is no wonder that his subordinate officials regard the rights of the citizens as "bunkum" and treat the people with scant respect.

While Britain deserve great thanks for her graceful withdrawal from India in accordance with the promises of her statesmen to put India on her path to self-Government it is highly regrettable that she transferred power into the hands of Congress, which has neither the tradition nor the grace of its predecessor. It is hoped that all the other parties in India will combine to assert the rights of civil liberty against any encroachment. Unity is the vital need of the hour in India, not for fighting foreigners, but for the preservation of that personal freedom which is the essence of democracy.

EDUCATION IN FREE INDIA

by P. R. Ramchandra Rao (Madras)

BY making the will of her people the criterion of the New Republic, India has made education the touchstone of her freedom. If her people must voice their will for the national good, for a better social order, they must obviously learn to make the right demands and vote for the right causes. Education for effective citizenship, therefore, becomes a national top priority. With a staggering illiteracy of 85 to the 100, encrusted with ignorant complacency, education, everywhere a tardy process, is in India a gargantuan undertaking. Add to this the incubus of over a century of a stereotyped and static educational tradition, unrelated to a changing India and ensconced in inertia. The travail of Partition has, moreover, focussed national energies on securing for the uprooted millions food for hungers more fundamental than the craving for knowledge. Education has, in consequence, slid back. There has, therefore, been no spectacular educational progress in freed India; yet, there is everywhere an awareness of a new vision of education and educational policies are under overhaul.

The new vision certainly came to India with the Wardha Scheme of education, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's finding that the existing system "continued to function listlessly and apart from the real currents of national life." Education, as it obtained, was not only wasteful but, in the context of Indian conditions, positively harmful; boys, lost to their parents and the occupations to which they were born, affected urban ways and habits and achieved a smattering of a nondescript something which was anything but education. Boys and girls had passed on from primary schools to secondary schools and from secondary schools to colleges, for the greater part of their growing lives, not for the love of knowledge but for the simple reason that they did not know what else they could or should do. Education in India had thus become, by a strange irony, a preparation for procrastination, irresoluteness and an inability in young men and women to take decisions in the pursuits of life. The Wardha Scheme emerged as a reaction of "solving the problem of education in a practical way within as short a time as possible."

This impatience with educational direction was, in fact, part of a world discontent. The dangers of education based solely on the intellect were becoming increasingly obvious; the young people knew more but could do less. Weary of school, they took out with them no thirst for knowledge; they subsisted on examination certificates; they looked out for props. The consciousness that study and experience are utterly divergent had caused a revulsion against mere intellectualism, and the new emphasis was coming to be on occupational study bound up with the imparting of knowledge. The great discovery was that the process of learning "can be arranged side by side with life action instead of being artificially separated from it."

This discovery was the basis of the Wardha Scheme. It rested on two fundamental postulates—that education should be centred round some basic and productive craft; that it should, as far as possible, be self-supporting. The scheme underlined the "connectedness" of all knowledge; the informative content of the child's education was to be woven around a central craft, such as spinning. The craft was *basic* as it was related intimately to the environment of the child; it ministered to a primary human need, clothing; it was in itself, with the collateral song and play, an educative force, and by producing saleable material, cloth, for instance, it nearly paid the cost of education—a factor of great importance in a country of India's meagre resources. The pupil thus became not a receptacle of knowledge merely; he had also begun to serve his apprenticeship as a useful citizen.

Basic national education has come to stay in free India; schools the country over are being geared again to the Wardha Scheme, after its intervening scrapping by the successor British administrations to the first Congress Government of 1937. Primary education will henceforth be free, universal, and compulsory and for eight years; it will be in the mother-tongue of the child and craft-centred. Education in India is a provincial responsibility and the various provinces are at different levels of fulfilment, but the scheme has got an all-India start and is well under way.

Obviously, the success of the Wardha Scheme depends almost entirely on competent teachers to take the child artfully through his complex mapping ground; teachers need not only to have a grasp of the philosophy of the new education but also the enthusiasm for working it out. But, the vocation of teaching in India has been, for long, a rendezvous of indifferent talents, the special vocation of those who find, for the time being, nothing better to do. The problem is one of the right type of teachers; it is basically, however, a question of salaries to attract the right type. High states of moral fervour may be temporary exaltations of the individual or national spirit, but rarely permanent; teachers' emoluments in India are notoriously too low to sustain the spirit in top flight. The teacher is still the poor relation of the public services; he is also the victim of spasmodic employments and whimsical dismissals by exploiting employers; he ekes out dismal intervals between underpaid jobs by exhausting tutoring. The important pre-condition of educational progress in India are teachers with enthusiasm and vision, but these attributes somehow grow out of contentment and freedom from want.

The question of mass education in India hinges largely on girls' education which, however, has always had to fight an unequal battle against the odds of prejudice, apathy and conservatism. The education of the girl is the education of the mother and through the mother that

of her children; educated women are a powerful factor in civilizing men. Indian parents are generally averse to giving their daughters an education divorced from the needs of the home, and the early marriage of Indian girls burdens them with the premature obligations of maternity, making worthwhile education almost impossible. Yet, a visible awakening towards girls' education manifests itself in several first steps—in the postponement of the age of marriage, in the lee-way in co-education, in the progressive entry of women into the teaching and medical professions and in the establishment of social service centres, rescue homes and women's village institutes. However, in the scheme of Indian education girls are still a second string, owing to the predominant impression that boys come first.

A crying need is of course for more trained women teachers, because women have a wider sympathy with young children and a deeper understanding of their needs, and until a system of infant classes staffed by trained women is established in India education will remain unsound at its very foundation. But, unattached young townswomen who form the bulk of school-mistresses are loath to reside and teach in remote villages away from their homes and relations. The village school-mistress is a lonely figure, the target of much prejudice and the embarrassing flirtations of self-important men. So, co-education in the primary schools is a virtue out of necessity in India. The schools are mixed only as regards the pupils, but the staff remains almost entirely masculine. The curriculum, even in girls' schools, is mainly a boys' curriculum, and efforts to prepare girls for their vocation in the context of India, as wives and mothers, are singularly half-hearted.

The child and the adolescent, however, are in the lower reaches of the age-ladder; mass illiteracy has to be attacked by a flanking movement at the adult ranges also, but the education here has to be for citizenship. Mere literacy can be quite irrelevant to the masses of India who are curiously "educated," according to their lights, by the traditions and precepts of centuries. Mass education, to attract, must have an *adult* outlook; it must not be just an infantile toddling with the alphabet. The problem is to relate the tested knowledge and experience of the Indian masses to the needs of the changing times, to devise vehicles for adult reception, without provoking derision. The programme of social education is, therefore, very much on the anvil in India. All resources are to be mobilised—the radio, films and open air theatres, and even conscription of the educated. Mass instruction, to be effective, must be a continued expression of the adults themselves, in clubs and discussion groups, through excursions

and fairs, community theatricals and dance and song. The focus of all this activity will of course be the village; in the mills and factories, literacy, enforced as a pre-condition for employment, will be a three-year target. The Indian millions, mobilised for democracy, will be the biggest human potential ever exercised for their own governance.

It is inevitable that the new India should, as an essay in national unity, impose a *lingua franca*, Hindustani that is, for inter-provincial intercourse. The negative urge to shed English, however, now given a quinquennial extension in the educational scheme, is not quite so logical. The five years' breathing space is to enable the new State to compile text-books, lexicons and precise scientific terminologies in the national language which will be made obligatory after optional stages. It would be very unwise for India to unlearn her English, dismissed in a flush of nationalism as a symbol of slavery. A language rather broadens the mind than enslaves it, and in a world become quite small in terms of human relationships, it would be a pity to drop an instrument of cohesion. Secondary education has always remained a blind alley in India; the energies of schools are focussed on a leaving certificate, as a ticket to clerical employment. Boys and girls rarely matriculate to the universities but are declared eligible; universities have, in consequence, no voice in the shaping of their grist. Until a year or two ago, schools were not even thought of as seeding-ground for technological studies; there was no attempt to fork out secondary training into technical and academic education. Universities, taking in the products of book-learning, turned out much theoretical scholarship; when an all-out exploitation of resources was not yet, opportunities for employment were scarce and the universities were vicariously blamed for the swelling jobless. The vast national programmes in the industrial and agricultural spheres, now planned out in free India, will have need of all talents; and facilities for technological studies and research, created both within and without the country, hold out increasing opportunities for youth.

Over all educational good intentions in India, however, looms the general economic crisis and the fear of repercussions on education of contingent retrenchments. Presently, India must discover the marginal utilities of a co-ordinated educational expenditure; there still is much lopsided spending, without planning or thought of commensurate benefits to the community as a whole. However, it is a time of transition and the new education, as yet implanted, should weather many difficult Indian summers to grow to fruition.

Partial Amnesty in Malaya.

The Government of the Federation of Malaya announced on September 5th that people who had been consorting with the bandits—in many cases unwillingly—would not incur the death penalty for the illegal carrying of arms if they surrendered voluntarily to the authorities. This offer would not, however, apply to those who were guilty of murder and other serious crimes. A number of bandits have already surrendered, and it is expected that

more will do so if they are sure to escape the death penalty. Leaflets in Chinese have been prepared to spread the news, but persons for whom this partial amnesty is intended are deep in the jungle, and it may take weeks or even months for individuals to make up their minds, watch their opportunity and finally turn up in small parties. The statement remains a mark of the confidence of the Government of the Federation of Malaya in the strength of its position, in terms both of military and police success and of public support.

PAKISTAN'S GROWING STATURE

by Qutubuddin Aziz (Karachi)

THE stature of a nation is generally measured by the yardstick of respect which it commands in the world at large. Pakistan has most certainly come to occupy in the brief span of two years a position of eminence in the society of nations.

Her brief for the Arabs on the Palestine issue in the United Nations, her sturdy defence of the Indonesians and her gallant fight against the return of the former Italian colonies in North Africa to their old masters have won the aplomb of those who genuinely believe in the freedom of all men. Pakistan has shown no evidence of weakening interests in the Commonwealth, her relations with all the Commonwealth countries—barring India—have been excellent. By far the largest of Muslim states, Pakistan has come to be looked upon as the Leader of the Islamic World. The capital of Pakistan was early this year the venue of the Muslim World Conference and several similar gatherings are to follow. Under the leadership of Pakistan, a strong, cohesive Islamic bloc may develop into the third force so urgently needed for the stabilisation of world peace.

The expanding diplomatic corps in Karachi shows the growing interest which other peoples have in Pakistan while the increasing number of her missions abroad portrays her desire to be on friendly terms with the outside world.

The chequered course of Pakistan's relations with India is very sad indeed, for geographical reasons and economic needs dictate that there should be closer accord between the two countries. That they have avoided war while there was inflammable material for it in abundance, is a great thing. The situation, however, is not altogether without hope. The Kashmir problem—a running sore—has now come within the pale of peaceful solution and it is possible that it may be settled before long. Once the Kashmir dispute is over, Indo-Pakistan relations should be smooth. There still will be many differences to be ironed out but then time is a great healer, and with the passage of years the unpleasant happenings of the past will pass away.

The battle for survival of the seventy million men and women of this country is one of the epochs of human history. That they succeeded in unitedly rearing up a State whose government had not even a sufficient number of inkstands and office tables when it saw the light of the day, whose economy was declared to be hopeless by a chorus of economic pundits and whose framework was violently shaken in its very infancy by the influx of a vast refugee population is decidedly not an unspectacular achievement.

Pakistan has steadily managed to contrive solution of her problems. The rehabilitation of seven million hapless refugees—her major and extremely difficult undertaking—is being speedily accomplished. The

stability and soundness of Pakistan's finance are now established. She has had two surplus budgets and a lively foreign trade. With the world monopoly of jute worth Rs. 1,100 millions and large quantities of exportable cotton, Pakistan is placed in an exceptionally good international trade position. Jute and cotton have been her principal sources of outside revenue and have swelled up her dollar earnings. India owes her a large balance and her reserves in Britain are considerable.

Brisk industrial activity is in evidence everywhere in the country. Establishments of foreign firms are going up in Karachi and other cities, while indigenous enterprises are setting up new factories and mills. Foreign capital, cautiously, is finding its way into Pakistan. Projects are under way for more industrial undertakings in jute, textiles, wool, sugar, leather, paper, drugs and chemicals, edible oils, cottage crafts and shipbuilding. With the completion of hydro-electric projects and the construction of more thermal stations, Pakistan's industrial economy will receive a strong fillip and will also solve the unemployment problem. Pakistan is largely an agricultural country and her builders have taken care not to neglect the backbone of its economy. Pakistan has never been and will probably never be short of food. The Sukkur barrage and now a series of other irrigation works have ensured a good supply of food grains. The most cheerful promise of Pakistan's prosperity is contained in the 5-year plan for economic development which incorporates 51 blueprints embracing almost every walk of life. Its execution will cost many millions of rupees.

The armed forces of Pakistan have grown perhaps with more rapidity than any of her other services. Spending nearly 70 per cent. of her revenues on the fighting services, the Dominion has built up a powerful well-trained army, air force and navy. There is, however, considerable leeway to be made up in the social and health services. But efforts are being made in this field and with the spread of education and the increase in medical personnel, Pakistan should be able to have an efficient health service in less than a decade.

The key-stone of Pakistan's constitution has been laid and the document should be ready before the next anniversary of her independence. The basic principles of the constitution as outlined in the Objectives Resolution of Premier Liaquat Ali Khan have laid at rest the fear that Pakistan would be a theocratic state ruled by turbaned, bearded "mullas." The output of the Dominion Parliament has been of a high quality and the debates have borne the impress of maturity.

Political activity in the country is growing fast. The paternal influence of the Muslim League as the organisation which fought for Pakistan and whose Government is in power now, has not waned much. But signs of a strong, healthy opposition both in and outside the

Pakistan Parliament are not lacking and before long a powerful opposition party veering towards socialism is bound to loom on the political horizon. Literacy is spreading though the task of educating almost sixty

million people is gigantic. Literary and journalistic pursuits have shown signs of animated activity, and with the spread of literacy the power of the pen is sure to increase manifold.

RADIO VOICES OF THE EAST

by Charles A. Rigby

JAPANESE enthusiasm over short-wave broadcasting started with the building of a transmitter at Ibarakiken in 1929. Listed among "The World's Leading Short-wavers," numbering approximately 70 stations, "Radio Ibarakiken" operated on 37.5 metres (8.00 Mcs.) but as it only broadcast at odd times, this station was not often reported. In fact, little was heard about Japanese short-wave broadcasting until the summer of 1935 when the first broadcast from Japan to Germany took place during the Olympic Games. Using a 30 Kilowatt transmitter at Tokio, the programmes were easily heard.

From 1937 on until the time of the occupation of the country, the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation or Nippon Hoso Kyokai, using a new 50 Kw. transmitter at Tokio carried out its overseas broadcasts to Europe, the East and Pacific coasts of North America, China, the South Seas, South West Asia, Hawaii and South America. Besides increasing the number of broadcasting hours, announcements were made in twelve languages namely, Japanese, Chinese, English, Portuguese, Siamese, Burmese, German, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, and Hindustani. The chief wavelengths used were 16.81m, 19.79m, 25.42m, and the call-letters JVJ, JZK, and JVM.

Both European and typical Japanese music in the pentatonic scale are broadcast. The oldest traditional music of Japan, the "Gagaku" or graceful music so popular in 450 A.D. and now played in the Imperial palaces; the "Yokyoku" or the music of the Noh play; and the "Koto" music of the fair sex can be heard. Musical instruments such as the thirteen-stringed Koto; the three-stringed Samisen; and the Shakuhachi, a form of flute producing a rather wailing sound, may be recognised. Talks mostly reflect life in Japan, Japanese customs and ideals.

The Tokio transmitters played an important part during the Sino-Japanese conflict, for it was at this time that the Japanese first realised their value for propaganda purposes. Indeed, the Japanese Broadcasting staff used all the ingenuity possible in the arrangement of programmes and the selection of suitable frequencies for directing the broadcasts to the various countries. It should be noted that, although the Japanese stations were extremely active, short-wave receivers were not available to Japanese listeners who were forbidden to use them.

Now that the country is occupied the Japanese are more or less restricted in their broadcasting. Quite recently transmitters have been erected at several more towns, some being operated by the various occupying forces and the remainder by the Japanese Broadcasting authorities.

The key transmitters at Tokio, using different types of aerials, have been heard on all the following wave-

lengths: 16.81m., 19.69m., 19.81m., 30.96m., 31.56m., 31.38m., 34.41m., 39.73m., 41.48m., 41.34m., 49.88m., 60.80m., 61.16m., 61.72m., 86.34m. and 91.46m. Most frequently used channels lately are 31.56m. (9.505 Mcs.) and 31.38m. or 9.56 Mcs. using the call letters JVW2 and JVW4 respectively, the operating times being from 06.55-13.00 B.S.T.

Latest information on other Japanese stations is as follows: (1st Network) JKH at Yamata on 41.34m. or 7.257 Mcs. operating from 19.25-13.00; JKI at Nazaki on 61.10m. or 4.910 Mcs. with operating times from 19.55-21.15 and 06.55-13.00, also over JK12 on 31.07m. or 9.655 Mcs. from 21.25-07.45. In addition to the above there is the Armed Forces Radio Service from JKL at Yamata on 61.73m. or 4.80 Mcs. from 07.55-13.05 and over JKL2 on 31.23m. or 9.605 Mcs. from 20.15-07.45; also from JKK at Nazaki on 49.88m. or 6.015 Mcs. from 20.15-13.00. (2nd Network) JKJ at Nazaki on 41.18m. or 7.285 Mcs. operates from 20.25-22.00 and from 06.55-13.00. JKM at Kawachi on 60.85m. or 4.93 Mcs. transmits on 30.94m. or 9.695 Mcs. from 20.25 to 22.00. The Japanese Broadcasting Corporation are now responsible for the following transmissions, termed "repatriates": JBD at Kawachi on 31.56m. or 9.505 Mcs. operating from 06.55-13.00, JBD3 on 19.7m. or 15.225 Mcs. between 21.30 and 06.45 as well as JBD4 on 19.69m. or 15.235 Mcs. between 21.50 and 06.45.

Osaka, JO3G, using a power of 3 Ww. is on 31.47m. or 9.535 Mcs., 48.47m. or 6.91 Mcs. and also 89.92m. or 3.535 Mcs. from 08.00-12.00. Nagoya JO2K on 49.96m. or 6.005 Mcs. has the following schedule: 09.15-12.00 and 19.00-22.50. Kure, WLKS (in the British occupied zone) with a power of 1 Kw. operates on 49.14m. or 6.105 Mcs. and on 121.7m. or 2.465 Mcs. between 20.30 and 12.30. Sappora, JO8F is also reported on 92.31m. or 3.25 Mcs.

"Radio Seoul," HLKA in Korea, is quite a powerful signal, transmitting with a power of 5 Kw. on 37.82m., 7.93 Mcs. and on 119.5m., or 2.510 Mcs. during the following times: 01.00-04.00, 07.30-09.30, and 20.00-22.30. The interval signal consists of three ascending chimes and the call, "This is the Korean Broadcasting System." Both transmitters sign off at approximately 14.30 with long announcements in English, especially on Saturdays. Between 20.30 and 21.00 there are talks and recordings. Pyongyang in the North Korean People's Republic is reported on 30.53m. or 7.785 Mcs. and 68.18m. or 4.43 Mcs. with operating times 08.00-12.00 and 20.00-22.00.

Most of these transmissions are well heard in Britain throughout the year with little or no effects from seasonable changes as listening channels are changed to suit accordingly.

LONDON NOTEBOOK

G. D. Birla in London.

During his recent visit to Britain, G. D. Birla, prominent Indian industrialist, addressed a joint meeting of the East India Association and the Over-Seas League in London. He said that India was passing through a serious economic crisis which, if not solved quickly, may undo all the good that has been done so far and which may shake the very foundation of her independence. Production, though slightly better than in 1947, was unsatisfactory and prices were still on a slow upward trend. The problem before India was to secure lower prices, a rising standard of living and to find employment for the thousands of students leaving the universities each year. The solution was only to be found in increased production. The first thing needed was capital

from India and from abroad for quick industrialisation. The destruction of the middle classes due to the Punjab upheaval following partition, high taxation and a serious fall in investments, had been the greatest shocks to the investment market. The bad system of distribution in controlled industries, transport difficulties causing the accumulation of stocks were amongst the reasons why capital had become shy or had dried up. The aims and intentions of the Indian Government were sound, as could be seen from their concessions to new industries which are to be free from income tax for the first five years provided their profits do not exceed 6 per cent. of the capital. Mr. Birla stressed the bright future of India with her large resources, talents and organising capacity, with her labour force and industrial potentialities.

Sir Robert Ho Tung

Sir Robert Ho Tung, reputedly one of the richest men in China, is about to return to Hong Kong from London where he has spent the last few months. Sir Robert comes from a poor family and his phenomenal rise from a poor minor

customs official to his present position is one of the greatest success stories to come out of Asia. He was responsible for the settling of Hong Kong's great strike in 1922 and has contributed much to the welfare of the Colony. His latest donation was a million H.K. dollars to provide Hong Kong University with a hospital for women students. When war broke out with Japan, Sir Robert was visiting Macao and remained in the Portuguese Colony until the liberation of Hong Kong. Upon his return he found his property looted, several of his steamers sunk and his son, wounded in an air raid, had to have both legs amputated. At 86, Sir Robert thinks nothing of flying between Hong Kong and London, but he takes life easy in his suite at Grosvenor House, carefully tended by his two nurses and his Chinese secretary. Although he watches events in China carefully, he does not wish to comment on political topics, being "just a businessman." He is frail in appearance and his pointed beard gives him a strong resemblance to G. B. Shaw whom he admires and with whom he has been friends for years.

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FROM ALL QUARTERS

South Pacific Appointment.

Dr. A. P. Elkin, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Sydney, is to assist in the research programme of the South Pacific Commission by making a study of social anthropology. Dr. Elkin, a recognised authority on the aborigines of the South Pacific, will make a review of what has been accomplished in the field of social anthropology in both Papua and Melanesia.

Strain on Rubber Planters.

The long strain of living under military conditions since the outbreak of terrorism, the falling price of rubber and sundry labour disputes are now having an effect on the staffs of Malayan rubber plantations. Most of the older and experienced planters want to retire since they find conditions too nerve-racking. Although there are a number of junior planters who are standing up well to the present emergency, it will be some time before they are sufficiently trained to take the place of planters of many years' experience.

For plantation labour, Indians are still the best estate workers. Although the Malays average higher daily earnings as compared with the Indians, absenteeism is much more common among them. Wages are low for tappers since not many estates can afford to pay more than 10 to 12 cents a pound and unless the yield is in the neighbourhood of 15 lbs. the labourer will not receive an adequate return for his work.

Vitaminised Rice.

A new factory has been opened in Singapore to produce vitaminised rice at the rate of 600 lbs. a day. This is the first factory of its kind in the Far East and both the Singapore and the Federation Governments are taking great interest in the scheme.

The finished product is known as "Roche Mix" and contains the vitamins Thiamin (B.1.), Riboflavin (B.2.) and Niacin which were formerly lost during processing and polishing. By adding one portion of vitaminised rice to 200 portions of ordinary rice before cooking, the white rice has all the essential ingredients restored to it, while the flavour remains unchanged.

Canal Water Dispute.

Pakistan is likely to appeal to the International Court of Justice for a decision on the problem of the sharing of the waters of rivers which, as a result of the partition, now flow through both Pakistan and India. The upper reaches of the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej are in India, but lower down they enter Pakistan and eventually join the Indus, emptying into the Arabian sea near Karachi. The agricultural prosperity and food-growing capacity of the Pakistan Provinces of the West Punjab and Sind, and the Pakistan states of Bahawalpur and Khairpur, depend in a very large degree on the waters of these rivers, which become available for irrigation through the most extensive system of canals in the world. To construct and perfect this system a great deal of human effort and large sums of money have been spent over a long period of time.

Indeed, it is a matter of life and death for millions of people, as vast areas will be rendered waste and made liable to famine if the flow of water is interfered with.

Under the Independence Act, the Radcliff Award divided the Punjab into two Provinces, namely the West Punjab (Pakistan) and the East Punjab (India), and proceeded on the assumption that these irrigation systems would continue intact, and that some machinery for their joint management would be set up by the two countries. In fact the division of the assets of the undivided province between the East and West Punjab took these irrigation systems into account as a profit-earning asset. After partition, however, India set up a claim to absolute ownership of all the waters of rivers passing through its territories and, in fact, in 1948 stopped the flow of some of those waters into canals which take off from headworks situated within her borders at a time of year when the demand for irrigation is keenest. Pakistan protested vigorously and last year a temporary arrangement was made between the two dominions but no permanent solution on the equitable sharing of the waters of these rivers has yet been achieved. An inter-dominion conference met at New Delhi in August, but failed to reach agreement. Pakistan, therefore, is taking recourse to international arbitration.

Japan's Health Improving.

A survey just issued by the S.C.A.P. authorities shows the spectacular results of the various health measures introduced in Japan since the occupation. The death rate of the country is now the lowest ever recorded in its history. The establishment of health and welfare centres has contributed greatly to disease control. The survey reveals that the death rate from tuberculosis, still the greatest cause of deaths, has dropped about one third since 1946. Smallpox, of which there were nearly 18,000 cases in 1946, has been brought under control by vaccinating the entire Japanese population. Typhus, which had been epidemic in Japan for many years, has been greatly reduced with the help of D.D.T.

English in Indonesia.

President Soekarno announced that English has been made a compulsory subject in all the primary schools of the Republic of Indonesia. He said that it was realised that English is a world language, and that Indonesia was hungry for books from England and Australia. "For six years," he said, "Indonesians were starved of books—we want news of literary, music, painting and social welfare developments in those countries."

Monkeys From Malaya.

Stricter control of the Malayan trade in wild animals has been suggested to the Singapore and Federation authorities. Mr. L. Rayner, president of the Malayan Vegetarian Society, told fellow members that there had been reports of large cargoes of monkeys from the Peninsula dying at sea. He pointed out that at present there was no restriction on export so long as the animals

had a clean bill of health. As a result of these disclosures, the Singapore and Federation Governments have been asked to investigate the whole question of the traffic in wild animals and to consider imposing stricter control, if not entirely banning the trade. But Mr. A. Eliazar, a well-known animal dealer told the society that he exported 10,000 monkeys in 1948 and the mortality rate in transit was not one per cent.

"Greater Colombo" Plan.

Plans for a "greater Colombo" foresee the necessary evacuation of an excess population of 75,000 to three satellite towns which have been planned just outside the city. Provisions are being made for the moving of a further 25,000 to these towns. Colombo is also about to tackle its big slum problem. According to the latest survey, Colombo's 36 slum areas spread over more than 1,132 acres.

I.C.I. Research Fellowships in Pakistan.

The Pakistan Association for the Cultivation of Science has accepted an offer from Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., to provide the sum of 160,000 rupees (£12,000) for research fellowships in chemistry, physics and biology at Pakistan universities or institutions, over a period of five to seven years. Each fellowship will be worth about 400 rupees per month, and will be for two years with a possibility of extension to three. In addition, fellowship holders will be given a grant to cover expenses for special apparatus and materials. The Pakistan Associa-

tion for the Cultivation of Science, will make appointments to, and control the fellowships, which will be open to persons irrespective of sex, race, or religion, the overriding consideration being their scientific fitness.

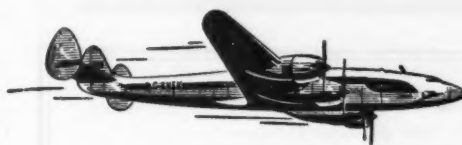
In furtherance of its policy of encouraging fundamental research wherever facilities exist, I.C.I. has, since 1944, provided over £52,000 a year for research fellowships at various universities. I.C.I. also makes grants of money to the chemical departments of universities for the purchase of chemicals and apparatus for research work, at a cost to the company of about £25,000 per annum.

Australia Resists Japanese Emigration to New Guinea.

Australia's Minister for External Territories, Mr. Ward, stated that Australia would resent and resist any attempt to bring Japanese into any areas adjacent to Australia, especially into Dutch New Guinea, and would not tolerate Japanese in areas under her trusteeship. They would soon outnumber the aboriginal inhabitants and Australia's policy was to encourage these people in self-government.

Parliamentary Opposition in India.

Twelve members of the Indian Parliament, out of a total of 307 have formed India's first parliamentary opposition party. It will be called the Social Democratic Party and will be led by the Bombay economist, Professor K. T. Shah. It includes three former Congressmen, five former Muslim Leaguers and the Socialist leader, Seth Damodar Swarup.



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BOOKS ON THE

Hermit in the Himalayas, by **PAUL BRUNTON** (*Rider*, 15s.).

I read this book with great joy and admiration. The essays are full of graphic and realistic pictures of the natural beauties of that part of the Himalayas which Mr. Brunton visited and his descriptions of the spiritual experiences and temporary detachment from the busy and boisterous world and the merging of his soul with the "Over-all Soul" make one long for similar experiences. He is so genuine in all that he says. It is remarkable that a person primarily brought up in Western traditions, civilisation and outlook can so transform himself that he can see the beauty and inward peace of real Yoga. His firm belief that beings other than human exist above the human plane and that it is possible to get into communication with them through Yoga and into communion with God is a source of great satisfaction to the oriental. His declaration that he does not want to give up the busy world but to carry on activities among his fellow beings in a spirit of Yoga is in accordance with the ideal solution which the most practical Yogees of India have preached and upon which they have conducted their lives—lives of personally disinterested service. One feels sorry that it was not possible for him to visit Lhasa under the circumstances. But things have changed since the book was written and it is possible that Tibet will now welcome him.

I cannot help feeling a little disappointed and sorry that an increasing number of young Indians are forgetting the gift of their ancient ancestors and are imitating the purely material aspect of most of the modern West. Universal peace can only be real on recognition of a Universal Soul into which the individual souls can merge and discard the outward clothing of race and colour. This the author firmly believes. His emphasis on solitude and silence—silence not only of speech but silence of mind, free from the turmoil of conflicting thoughts—and concentration on the universal soul is one of the basic principles taught by every great religion of the world.

KRISHNA MORESHWAR PARDHY.

The Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Its Results, by **S. GOPAL** (*Allen & Unwin*, 4s. 6d.).

Mr. Gopal discusses in a very interesting and clear manner the after-effects of the permanent settlement although, as he himself confesses, the system hitherto operating in Bengal has undergone a great change as a result of the partition. The value of the book would have been greatly advanced had the author dealt at greater length with the Grant-Shosi controversy and examined the circumstances in which the settlement was introduced. Administration of revenues was the weakest link in the company's chain and a considerable amount of confusion and misery had resulted in Bengal. This confusion was very appreciably reflected in the social and economic life of the people. Cornwallis tried to over-simplify the method of collection of revenues by fixing it in perpetuity. The lot of the common people was completely ignored

FAR EAST

and it led to enormous litigation. The author himself says, "The settlement was followed by a great wave of litigation which nearly overwhelmed the judicial system of provinces," and considers the system outmoded and responsible for hindering social progress.

The book on the whole is a refreshing one and is marked for its lucidity. It could easily be developed into a more detailed history of the Permanent settlement and its after effects.

O. P. BHATNAGAR.

The Wisdom of China, Edited by LIN YUTANG (*Michael Joseph*, 12s. 6d.)

Here is another work from the indefatigable hand of Lin Yutang—an anthology of Chinese prose and poetry designed to show wherein lies the strength of China's culture and to point out her age-old way of life.

Many are the "interpretations" of China aimed at the general reader of the Western world; Mr. Lin has produced several of them himself. Yet it still remains true that the best way to introduce one country and people to another is to allow the best of each to get across to the other. Literature, music, painting, all the work of different hands in widely separated climes, yet have a universal quality once the initial period of study is passed. The difficulty with Chinese (and it is a major one) is that the genius of the language, as well as its special ideographic form, seems to set it apart from all that the West has for so long taken for granted. People are frightened off by the appearance of the so beautiful but so incomprehensible characters; there is left behind a feeling that what finds expression in them must be as bizarre as the writing itself.

Yet the first feeling of the student on becoming competent in the language is one of kinship with the writers and poets of Cathay. He finds Chinese thought processes very similar to his own: the emotions expressed by the poets and artists move him no less than they affect the sons of Sinim. How many of us have sighed for the life of a Pêng Tsu, a Methuselah, that, having made the great adventure and arrived we might spend a few hundreds of years transferring from Chinese to our own tongue those scripts which have so delighted us through the years.

All translation is a specialised (almost an individual) business; thus, the translator of one age is frequently scorned by the readers of the next. Each generation almost demands new versions of ancient monuments; down the years there have appeared innumerable translations of the giants Homer and Virgil, though these do not, in the nature of things present anything like the difficulties which confront the translator from the Chinese. There is also present the feeling that some former translator has not been sufficiently retiring, so that too much of his personality has appeared through the work of his author.

Thus the reader will expect to find in this new Anthology some versions which have never before seen the light of day. Well to the fore is Mr. Lin's version of the whole of the Book of Tao, ascribed to Lao Tzu. In an introduction (and the editor's introductions are one of the

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outstanding features of the book) Lin Yutang writes of former translations, pronounces brief judgment on them and gives reasons for making his own. Whether he is justified in giving more than forty pages to such a new version "of the most translated of all Chinese books" must be left to the leisure of the research scholar to decide on a close scrutiny of version and Chinese text. Here and there he is more readable than many of his predecessors—even Walcy—but in one or two places he is too colloquial, almost jocular. Whatever the author of the book may have been he was in deadly earnest and had no idea of throwing off "wisecracks." We feel inclined to quarrel with the editor when he states categorically that "for the immediate problems of this contentious modern world, it is more important to read Laotzu than to read Confucius." More important for whom? He has already denied that China ever fell so low as the modern Western world in its idolisation of all things material and its disregard of the real Good. It is, alas, true that few today will spare the time to read, let alone make the effort to understand, the simplest parts of the Confucian Canon; to expect them to read and appreciatively understand the paradoxes of Laotzu and Chuangtzu is to seek archangelic conduct from the janitors of Hell. He is on surer ground when he states "the bottom has been knocked out of our human universe; the structure cannot hold . . . a new world must be built and the East and West must build it together."

From the Taoist mystics of China we are led through early Chinese democracy in quotations from the Book of History and the writings of Mencius. The nearest China ever came to a true religion and Church in the Western sense appears in long quotations from the works of Motzu. The teachings of Confucius lead on to a section devoted to Chinese poetry. This last is disappointing for it gives us a good selection from the Book of Poetry (available in its entirety in several translations); one poem by Ch'ü Yüan, a handful of Li Po and two comparatively modern pieces. Erkes had already done yeoman work on *The Great Summons* and we might well have looked to Lin Yutang for a version of one of the Ch'u Tz'u not yet attempted by any foreign translator.

The rest of the work is given over to sketches of Chinese life as seen in popular stories, family letters of a Chinese poet, the epigrams of Lusin and in proverbs. Versions by previous translators, notably Legge, Giles and Waley appear between versions where the editor felt he had to make his own. It is a pity that Lin refers so often to his own *Wisdom of Confucius*—excellent as this book is—for it is not generally available in this country and the reader of the present work feels the need of it more with every reference to it by the editor. NEVILLE WHYMANT.

France-Asie, Revue de Culture et de Synthese Franco-Asiatique (Saigon, monthly.)

As its sub-title indicates, the editor of this monthly, Mr. de Berval, has set himself and his contributors a double task: to explain Asia, and especially Indo-China, to metropolitan readers, and post-war France to students of the changing European world in South East Asia. The periodical, now in its fourth year, has been and continues to be highly successful in what it has undertaken. The wider horizons of *France-Asie* are outlined by special

issues like the one, of more than 250 pages, dedicated to the memory and appreciation of Gandhi. There is not a single grand name missing in the international cavalcade marching past the bier in order to render homage to the greatest of all Hindus. There is the bapu's personal friend Romain Rolland, there are André Gide and Georges Duhamel, de Miomandre, this most experienced of all Tibetan explorers, Mme. David-Neel, and among the Indians we find Nehru and Sri Aurobindo, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, China, Japan and Korea are represented and united in grief and admiration.

Another special issue is reserved to very valuable studies of Cambodia. It covers the arts, ethnography, religion, language and literature, and the folk lore of this Western part of Indo-China. The coverage is as perfect as it can be within the allotted space though some of the translated texts are rather trifling and unimportant. The biggest fly in the ointment the present reviewer found in the introductory statement that the language spoken in Cambodia is rooted in Sanskrit Pāli and, therefore, belongs to the Indo-European languages group. This is at variance with the facts. It is true that Cambodian script originated in the Indian but none of us would regard Hungarian, because it uses the Roman alphabet, as an Indo-European language. Cambodians speak *mon-khmer*, a language belonging to the austral-asiatic group ranging from Lower Burma to Indonesia.

Lack of space forbids to go into details and to mention the variety of other interesting material contained in that publication. Not every morsel is tasty but, on the whole, any issue of *France-Asie* is in itself a great achievement and an opening of many a window to South East Asia.

India, Pakistan, and the West by PERCIVAL SPEARS (Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 5s.)

Many people today find India a big question mark. The events of the last two years will be reason enough for their surprise. To see the one-time inmates of political prisons installed in the seat of power by their erst-while jailers is surprising enough; to those who imagined that Congress would inaugurate a reign of social justice, the present stubborn belief in "private enterprise" and respect for foreign investments is even more disillusioning. The author has attempted to explain the history of the great subcontinent as a battle of cultures—Hindu, Moslem and British. This presentation never gets to grips with fundamental problems. The result is a readable summary of Indian history—if not necessarily a very accurate one. A man who can describe how British rule has transformed the great Indian cities into "tidy, well-kept towns" cannot really gain the confidence of anyone who has ever been to India! Dr. Spear deals too largely in abstractions for his efforts to explain successfully the fundamentals of that vast, wonderful and fascinating land-mass now called India and Pakistan. This task, anyhow, is much beyond the capacity of the learned, academic mind, accustomed to deal in neat, uncontroversial packets of knowledge. What is needed is a new and up-to-date version of K. S. Shelvankar's fascinating book, "The Problem of India." Then we might achieve a clearer understanding of the problem. NEIL STEWART.

THE LAST VICEROY

by Edwin Haward

IN the beginning of 1922 I had returned to my post at Delhi, after having for three weeks been with the special correspondents on the tour of the Prince of Wales to Bombay and Rajputana. I had been taken off the tour because of my editor's view that the political situation demanded my presence in Delhi. At that time Mr. Gandhi, after having reached what was wrongly thought to be the zenith of his influence, was about to suffer the setback of the Chauri Chaura tragedy of February 4th, 1922. He suspended his civil disobedience movement and admitted "a Himalayan blunder" as he called it. His arrest on March 10th and subsequent trial and imprisonment followed. The royal tour brought the Prince of Wales to Delhi in due course. On the Prince's staff was Lieutenant Mountbatten. Just before the Prince reached Delhi I was lunching at Viceregal Lodge, and among the small party present was a young woman from England who was staying with Lord and Lady Reading, Miss Edwina Ashley. After the Prince had arrived and the social and political whirl of Delhi accelerated, I remember being at an after-dinner dance at Maiden's Hotel when at midnight Miss Ashley with Lieutenant Mountbatten appeared, having slipped away from the royal party for a more informal termination of a busy day. I believe that it was noticed that the lady had a ring on her engagement finger, and discreet journalists who made enquiries were at once told that no deduction could be drawn, because the officer in question, as a descendant of George II, could not contemplate matrimony without the prior approval of the reigning monarch.

To this important episode in his life that young officer referred when on March 24th, 1947, he broke with precedent and made a speech on the occasion of being sworn in as the last British Viceroy of India, for in that speech he recalled that "it was here in Delhi that my wife and I became engaged." This personal touch was characteristic of Lord Mountbatten, and it is constantly shown in this collection of his speeches made during a historic period in the relations between Great Britain and India.

The speeches made by Viceroys are by custom collected and presented in published volumes after their terms of office. They have obviously much value for the historian. They seldom give more than a faint glimpse of the personality behind them, with the possible exception of the speeches of Lord Curzon.

It was not to be expected that in so short a time Lord Mountbatten's oratory could cover the extensive ground of Indian administration which his predecessors in their various quinquennia had of necessity to achieve. As he said at the outset, his was not a normal Viceroyalty; he was charged as Viceroy to commit hara-kiri. In the month before he had arrived, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom had made the important pronouncement that the transfer of power would be made to India by the British Government not later than June, 1948, and, as everyone

knows now, Lord Mountbatten's task, after he had made a preliminary reconnaissance as Viceroy, was to expedite that transfer by nearly a year.

Full judgment of his achievement must be left to the historian. There are probably few today who will deny that Mr. Attlee's pronouncement in February, 1947—the logical outcome of the Cripps Mission of '42 and the earlier statement by Mr. L. S. Amery as Secretary of State for India in August, 1940—was courageous, and had an instantaneous effect in removing ingrained suspicion in India and in enabling the transfer to be made in an atmosphere of good feeling between the two countries involved.

Foreseeing this day, Henry Lawrence in 1884 expressed the hope:—"let us so conduct ourselves . . . as when the connection ceases it may do so not with convulsions but with mutual esteem and affection." Unhappily the convulsions did come, owing to the effect of partition in the Punjab but, regrettable as that tragedy was, it may be claimed that Henry Lawrence's hopes in the main were fulfilled, because he was thinking—as other people were—of the relations between the British who were relinquishing power and the Indians to whom that power was being, in their opinion belatedly, transferred.

Lord Mountbatten, in organising not merely the transfer of power, but also partition which, suddenly decided upon, greatly complicated the problem before him, took for his text the title which he has given to this collection of his speeches. Such speed in so gigantic a transaction was bound to leave loose ends and untidy arrangements. The question is whether the same speed could have been ensured without leaving unsettled those difficulties which were mainly responsible for the troubles in the Punjab and later on the disputes over Hyderabad and Kashmir. The comment is made in no spirit of churlishness, but rather as a pointer to the questions which the historian of the future may possibly require to be answered.

In the final speech in this volume Lord Mountbatten, addressing a London audience on his return from India, was not able fully to discuss the tragedies, because he took the view that after he had exchanged the Viceroyalty of the sub-continent for the Governor-Generalship of the new Dominion of India it was not his business to express an opinion on the way in which that new Government had conducted their affairs.

Much of the material in these speeches is necessarily ephemeral in its interest, but they have a permanent value in the clear picture which they give of a vivid personality, not afraid to take risks, not ashamed to admit mistakes, and supreme in the gift of understanding the point of view of the other fellow. No doubt there are many passages on which the critic will fasten in the effort to show that Lord Mountbatten might have avoided some of the unfortunate consequences arising from the speed of his undoubtedly brilliant operation.

For example, his exposition of his relations with the Maharaja of Kashmir prior to the transfer of power is not very clear. He grasped the fact that non-accession to either of the two Dominions was bound to raise trouble, and he revealed that if Kashmir had acceded to Pakistan before the transfer of power, the prospective Government of India had indicated that they would raise no objection, but was he right in arguing that if the accession had been to India before the transfer of power the non-existence of Pakistan at that time would have made its interference impossible? In the light of the known fact that Kashmir had always been one of the territorial ingredients of Pakistan, it is difficult to appreciate this point of view.

Reverting to the speech which he made as Crown representative to the Chamber of Princes on July 25th, 1947, it will be seen that he pointed out that in considering the question of accession there were certain

geographical compulsions which could not be avoided—"out of something like 565 states the vast majority are irretrievably linked geographically with the Dominion of India. The problem therefore is of far greater magnitude than it is with Pakistan." With this statement there can be little disagreement, but as of these states Hyderabad and Kashmir were by far the largest in size, and had each of them their special racial difficulties, it might have been wiser to have concentrated on determining their future position rather than to have left it to the uncertain course of events after partition to decide.

Yet omelettes cannot be made without breaking eggs, and in carrying out this operation which, in general, was brilliantly executed, Lord Mountbatten would not have been human if he had left nothing on which the critic at leisure could fasten. As already suggested, the verdict must remain with the future historian.

THE BROKEN MEN

by Mervyn Jones

The Untouchables by B. R. AMBEDKAR (Amrit Book Co., Delhi, Rs. 8.8.)

MR. B. R. AMBEDKAR is the leader of the Scheduled Castes Federation, the largest political organisation of the Untouchable people of India. He is much more than a leading politician and former member of the Viceroy's Council. He receives, from most of the sixty millions of Untouchables, the kind of quasi-religious devotion which the Touchable Hindus gave to Gandhi and the Moslems to Jinnah. I have seen a crowd of Untouchables, in the "ghetto" of Nasik, work themselves into ecstasies with repeated shouts of "*Jai Bhim!*" (from Ambedkar's name, Bhim Rao).

Though Dr. Ambedkar has devoted most of a sincere and energetic life to trying to liberate his people from their dispossessed condition, his successes have not been very remarkable. Untouchability remains; and if its force has weakened in recent decades, one may tenably attribute this less to Dr. Ambedkar's efforts than to the attrition of time and to the campaigns, from inside touchability, of Gandhi and his followers. I do not assert this as incontestable, if only because elections and other evidence show that the S.C.F. has far more support than Congress among the Untouchables.

It now seems likely that Ambedkar's true memorial will be, not his political work, but his discovery of a body of knowledge about the history of Untouchability; and that he may achieve his ends, even after his death, by the diffusion of facts and ideas. If so, his fame will rest mainly on his book which has just been published.

This is a powerfully written book, abundant in its documentation but spare and logical in its essential reasoning. It deserves a summary even from one who is far from being well enough versed in anthropology, comparative religion, Hindu textual scholarship, and other subjects to pronounce on its validity—for its social effect may also outrun the accuracy of its theory.

Ambedkar thinks that the Untouchables began their history in tribal India, as remnants of tribes so badly defeated in battle that they ceased to exist as social units.

These survivors were forced by their conquerors to live outside the village, perform menial tasks, and act as shock-absorbers in case of new aggression. Much play is here made with a new significance of the word *ama* (which gives the Untouchables one of their numerous names) as meaning the end of the village, physically, and not the end of the scale of caste; and this squares with the classical Hindu conception that Untouchables are not at the end of caste, but outside it. Oddly enough, the closest parallels to this phenomenon are to be found in the tribal past of Ireland and Wales; and Ambedkar adopts the graphic term "broken men," first applied to the *fuidhirs*, or outcasts, of Celtic Ireland.

This theory would dispose at one blow of all ideas that the Untouchables were distinguished from the rest of the population by race, original occupation, innate inferiority, or divine will. However, the Broken Men, though serfs, were not yet untouchable. It is worth noting that the conception of a people socially set apart and only later becoming defiled in a religious sense is quite foreign to other investigators, who have concentrated on the present position of the Untouchables and neglected the study of their past.

Why did the Broken Men become untouchable? For two reasons, says Ambedkar. First, because they adhered to Buddhism when the great "counter-reformation" under the Gupta Kings won the bulk of the Indian people back to Brahminism. Second, because of the matter of beef-eating.

The theme of Buddhism is, to my mind, the weakest link in Ambedkar's argument. It would be natural that the most depressed part of the population should stick to this (at that time) simple pantheistic, and democratic doctrine. But what is natural is not thereby proven. Ambedkar, who is elsewhere not afraid of awkward questions, must here set himself two more: why have the Untouchables not stuck to Buddhism to this day? and why do not orthodox Hindus now regard Buddhists, in

Burma and elsewhere, with repulsion, or with any religious as distinct from racial, hostility?

As to beef-eating: Ambedkar shows convincingly that the Brahmins and other Hindus, before the advent of Buddhism, ate beef, not only with complete freedom from the pricks of conscience, but with the utmost relish. The slaughter of a cow was prescribed when welcoming a guest and for numerous sacrificial purposes. In the case of the latter, the Atreya Brahmana, in gourmandising detail, lays down the division of the sacrificed cow among the priests for their personal consumption, to the exclusion even of the unfortunate sacrificer.

The Buddhists, and Asoka in particular, forbade the killing of cows for sacrifice or hospitality. This edict, a nasty blow for the Brahmins, must have been very popular among peasants whose cows were their chief wealth, and must have swelled the Buddhist congregations. But Buddhism had nothing against the killing of a cow for ordinary meals when necessary, and within certain (mainly hygienic) limits.

This prohibition, now regarded as holy as well as practical, made it necessary for the Brahmins, when they launched the "counter-reformation," to go one better. They declared the eating of beef forbidden and sacrilegious at all times. For themselves, they became vegetarians, but did not insist on everyone's abjuring all flesh other than that of the newly sacred cow.

Why this coup should have been successful, Ambedkar does not say. Postulating the usual *mélange* of religious and economic causes, one may guess that the Buddhist edict had already attached a certain sacredness to the cow, and that cattle, from being a short commodity in the days of sacrifice, had become a glut on the market.

Similarly, if one asks why the Broken Men went on eating beef, the answer is, first, that they were the most convinced Buddhists, and, second, that they had to—they were propertyless and had nothing else to eat.

A minor theme enters here. In the days when the Brahmins allowed the eating of the cow, the settled peoples ate fresh (newly-killed) beef, while the Broken Men ate dead cows. Possessing no cattle of their own, they were allowed to take away cows which had died of natural causes. This is attested by the scriptures and by Chinese travellers as among their established perquisites. Though this was not the fault of the Broken Men, it could well be used by the Brahmins to portray them as unclean and disgusting. Ambedkar might have found a parallel among

the people who lived outside the walls of Carthage, pauperised and despised by the citizens. Flaubert, in *Salambô*, a novel for which he did six years of research, describes them, translating a Punic phrase, as *mangers de choses immondes*.

Thus the Brahmins, building on social exclusion, economic advantage, and religious dogma, raised the hideous edifice of Untouchability. Dr. Ambedkar says nothing in this book about the present position of the Untouchables. It is true, of course, that the number of Hindus who really believe that they are polluted by the sight or touch of a Harijan and hurry home to wash is steadily diminishing; one might compare it, proportionately, to the number of Jews who will not strike a match on the Sabbath. Most Hindus, however, from a combination of self-interest and unthinking prejudice, like to keep the Untouchables as a depressed class and source of cheap menial labour, like the Negroes in the South of the United States. If challenged, they fall back, sincerely or otherwise, on their religious tenets. The importance of Ambedkar's work is this: it may convince Touchable Hindus that Untouchability, far from being an integral element of their faith, is a superficial gloss born of historical accident and tactical sleight of hand. This will be a bitter pill to swallow. But, once swallowed, it will act as an emetic and force the regurgitation of the whole poison of Untouchability.

In his previous theoretical writings, and notably in the book "Annihilation of Caste," Ambedkar has regarded Untouchability as a logical consequence of the caste system and of the Hindu religion as a whole, and has declared that it will last until Hindus cease to be Hindus. Whatever theory may say, this is abominably bad politics. If you want to stop Catholics from burning heretics, it is no good telling them that their cruelty is a logical outgrowth of their wicked religion, which they must forthwith abandon. You must persuade them that the burning of heretics is really contrary to the preachings of the saints and founders of their admirable Church. This is what Henri IV did, with great success.

Dr. Ambedkar seems to have chosen this path—though I do not here imply that his book is an opportunist trick or that his historical theory is not entirely plausible. He writes with a new dignity, replacing his earlier petulance, though not without passion. The publication of this book may well be a landmark in the history of sixty million Untouchables.

HOW FARE THE ARTS IN CHINA?

by Neville Whyman

NOTHING is more surprising than the graph-like chart which is the normal method of shewing China's history over a period of some four thousand years. It might be taken to set forth the progress of a fever and the patient's recovery from it. The peaks and troughs occur at fairly regular intervals and seem to show that China spends about as much time losing ground already gained as she does in regaining her former height of

cultural achievement after each "dark" period.

Just as the military experts forecast a Japanese victory after three months fighting, so many teachers and cultural "experts" foresaw the speedy death of the arts in a China engaged in a struggle for her very existence. Not only would painting disappear; literature would become mere journalism, poetry would degenerate into mocking jingle, there would be no more sculpture and

even the applied arts such as the making of fine porcelain and such art-industries as the weaving of fine brocades would become but a memory of other days.

In fact, the lines of the history graph have repeated themselves fairly closely in recording a survey of the war and post-war achievements in the various departments of Chinese art activity. First there is the brief lull, during which the shock is absorbed; this is followed by a spurt of activity in which the first reactions of the sensitive spirit find expression. This initial effort is not usually of the first order; some of the earlier war pictures and posters of Chinese artists are amateurish in the extreme, judged by the standard of what Chinese art had led the observer to expect. But there is, none the less, an awareness of what has happened; an attempt, however clumsy, to bring about a speedy adjustment to new conditions. But it takes time and it is only the historian who will be prepared to hold on to his full collection of the products of the warring years. For him they have a story to tell; for the man who loves only the work of the artist at ease they will cause only worry and an unsettled mind.

In the years before the war an enterprising publishing house in China undertook the issue of a series of reprints of Sung dynasty editions of scarce and little-known works. In discussion with the founder of this scheme, I found the idea was not that the illustrations and typography could not be otherwise reproduced in these degenerate days, but that there was a call on the part of the public—at home as well as abroad—for such reproductions. Of course there was the period during the war when all that could be done with the resources at the command of the men at work was the production of those half illegible, evil-smelling books printed on coarse brown, sugar-bag paper. These had no illustrations at all and the surface of the type had suffered grievously in transit to southwest China. We still have some of these wartime editions and it is as great a mystery to decide how they were set with such faulty type-faces as to know how anybody managed to read them, unless he already knew the book almost by heart.

Undoubtedly one of the best fields for the flourishing of the innate Chinese artistic sense during recent years has been the woodcut. The volume of production has been stupendous; artists must have worked twenty hours a day to put out as much as bears the name of a single man. There is, naturally, much variation in the work of any single artist; some pictures have an instant appeal and later relax their hold on the viewer's imagination; others revolt or startle at first, only to grip the observer and hold him after a period of inspection. There is observable a realism of varying force and crudity in the schools which grew up during the war. Some names, prominent at first, have now disappeared altogether—and not because the bearers of the names are counted among the dead. Others again have changed their style; there is a wild difference between their earlier and later work. But all have ceased, it would seem, to believe in P'eng Lai—the Isles of the Blest. For them there is only the grimness of the blood and sweat and tears which some of their Allies were promised; for them, however, it was a continuing service of gloom for just so long as the desperate, unsettled state of their homeland should continue.

And yet we have come upon the greatest practical

argument against social security theory in the course of our investigations. For, chaotic as are the conditions under which most artists have perforce worked during the past ten or fifteen years, primitive as are many of their tools and makeshift their materials, it is in these conditions that they have reached a maturity and brilliance of achievement denied them in the days of comparative affluence before the war. Some have found a patron and their work has fallen off or, like that of Horace under the smile of Maecenas, stopped altogether. Whatever the spur which urges them on it is certainly not that of Easy Street; most of them know instinctively, if not consciously, that that would be the end of creative effort for them.

We have met artists of to-day who recall those of a thousand or more years ago, in that they want or need a meed of appreciation (tinctured with critical comment) much more than they seek our money in exchange for their pictures, their porcelain bowls or their brocades. Their product has been born in bitter labour; the easy dipping of a fat hand into a pocket will not buy it—where the quiet understanding of how it came to be will win it for nothing if the critic can bring himself to accept the very soul of a fellow mortal.

I talked recently with an artist who undertook to show me, from the hand of a living painter, pictures worthy to rank with any which have come down to us from the masters of the T'ang period. "This reverence for mere age is overdone," he said, "China during the An Lu-shan rebellion period was in much the same state of misery as now. Like conditions produce like results and I can convince you of this from any period of Chinese history." And the paintings he would have compared with the acknowledged masterpieces of old were certainly not those of his own brush.

Unlike the sociologists and politicians, unlike most of China's friends abroad, this artist friend did not altogether deplore the present situation. "Things can be made too easy," he said. Especially where artists were concerned he felt that conditions should offer at any rate a fair amount of resistance so that the upsurge of what he called "the artists' irrational inspiration" should expend something of itself before reaching the clay, the metal, the silk gauze or the paper. "The naked exuberance of a creative artist, transferred direct to the silk without any restraint being exercised by almost crippling conditions or bitter experience of life, is likely to be a revolting thing," he said.

Certainly current productions of the Chinese palette and knife lead one, along strange ways of human experience. One is left at times with the uncanny feeling that a surgical operation has left one without some more or less vital organ and one waits for imminent dissolution. Again one feels that the Chinese eye must have some strange power of penetration which is, everywhere else in the world, either lacking altogether or confined to the scientist peering through his instruments in his laboratory. Yet the Chinese eye is very like our own after all.

Any difference there may be between the artists East and West is likely to consist in a mental attitude rather than in mere technique. In olden times we are told it was the custom for an artist to "conceive" his picture in

a fashion closely analogous to biological conception. He would then let it lie within his mind or soul for a certain period, after which he would seize brush, ink and silk; in a matter of minutes the picture would be drawn—a perfect synthesis of a distant landscape and the artist's present mind. There is little enough opportunity for such prolonged gestation in these days!

Much of classical Chinese literature reminds us that it was largely written by such scholars as he who was named "Belly-draft" because he would, cow-like, chew over reflectively any problem on which he had to write, drink a bumper or two and go to sleep. On waking he would, without hesitation, set himself down to the writing of what always turned out to be superb prose in limpid style. Nowadays there is little sign that any time is taken off for reflection; it would seem that prose-writers and poets alike dash off just what occurs to them at the moment it begins to arise in their consciousness. The result is a certain disjointedness, undisguised by any of the older graces of style. It frequently seems, indeed, to the reader as if the Chinese writer of today is constantly on his guard against being seduced by such graces. One gets the impression that writers are out to beat each other at the creation of the starkest realism in what they write. Some of the more modern inscriptions conceived to adorn otherwise empty corners of a modern picture can only be described as "woolly" in regard to language and revolting in idea. The picture itself would be shocking enough without the addition of wordy embroidery which merely repeats the tragic theme without doing it half so well.

Of course, much of the blame for this state of affairs

must go to those who went from the extreme of classical purity of style to a "new" freedom of speech and writing which dispensed with all rules and forms. In the hands of such a man as Hu Shih, *pai hua* can be a flexible and expressive instrument (though some of his work in it leaves much to be desired!). But a man who has never known the old disciplines comes to it and uses it as a bludgeon, not knowing that it is much more effective as a rapier or even as a needle.

So today the foreign student of Chinese must be careful whom he chooses as a guide. There is a certain amount of good, if not superb, poetry, whose meaning is not wrapped up in skilful lines so packed with classical allusions that it needs a background of fifty years of wide reading to understand it. But there is much more which is of no higher standard than the nursery rhymes of our Western lands and which yet claims for itself a permanent place in the anthologies of Chinese verse. There are one or two very good essayists writing today; their collected works and occasional pieces are always sure of a wide public now. Will they always be as certain of remembrance? We are too near the fount of production to be sure of an answer. That is why general trends only have been dealt with; that is why no names of outstanding writers and painters have been given.

Had we done otherwise we should have offended against one of the most important canons of current art circles in China. "Don't bother about the signature on the picture—maybe it's illegible anyway; what does the picture say?" We believe that the pictures of modern China—or some of them—will go on speaking for a long time yet.

THE MAGIC TRINKET

by R. H. Ferry

IF you do not believe in the magic of the East, or the duplicity of young wives married to old husbands, then you will not believe my story. But I will not at this stage press you for a decision; that would not be fair and I do not wish to lead you into a trap. I ask you rather to keep an open mind till you have read further, I will then leave you to judge the narrative as you wish.

Peer Khan lived in a spacious two-storeyed house on the outer outskirts of Bombay. He was a money lender and there were few young men in the vicinity who were not in the grip of his clutching hands, few whose lives were not made burdensome by his avaricious and stony heart. Or few who did not dread the appearance of the silvery new moon, for it was then that the interest on loans became due. Peer Khan was hated, despised and feared.

Although it was said that the money lender's cellars were paved in rupees, he was becoming an old man and old age breeds loneliness. Grasping at fading youth, he said to himself, "I will take a young wife, one who will work without payment, cook for me by day, and be a comfort to me in the coldness of night."

He turned over the pages of his account book of debtors and ran a finger down the list of names until it stopped abruptly by that of an "owner of transport." This man had been forced to borrow deeply, as a tiger had slain four of his beasts of burden. Every moon the debt mounted, each moon the increasing interest became harder to collect. A debt was a debt, however, and the law was on Peer Khan's side, but whether it was paid in cash or kind it mattered little. It was "convenient" that the poverty stricken "man of straw" had a beautiful daughter ripe for marriage. An old man—a young wife; there was a risk, but the door of the house could be kept locked and the young men feared him. "Pah!"

A business transaction was successfully concluded, and Leta, the daughter of the gharri owner, became Peer Khan's wife.

Now the collecting of debts took the old man away from home for many moons at a time, and when the leopard is away the soft-eyed gazelle may come out to frolic in the glade. The beautiful Leta had a wayward and loving nature, high spirits, and she was often alone. As she looked out of her high window in the cool of the

evening, it was not always to listen to the flute-like notes of the koël, or the courtship call of the drongo shrike in the phalsa bushes of the distant compound. Many of the young men who passed by, going to and fro from work in the paddy fields, were quick to notice Leta's bold and inviting eyes. Many of those in fact whose names were in Peer Khan's book became visitors at his house while he was away, for the vine on the wall was old like its owner, well-branched, and easy to climb.

Do not, I pray you, condemn this faithless young wife too harshly—was she not a mere chattel of commerce, one bartered for bullocks? And even in the romantic East one cannot expect to make a silken purse out of a sow's ear, or a virtuous princess of a gharry owner's daughter!

The old man, however, soon grew suspicious and the suspicion persisted till it became like an irritating jungle thorn in the flesh under the shirt of a shikari. One day Peer Khan rode off in a hired ekka to the junk shop in the east corner of the gudri bazaar, owned by a dealer in stones and one noted for magic.

This dabbler in magic knew and despised the money lender, and was well acquainted with the bold bazaar gossip that his young wife was of "uneasy virtue." He saw that the old man looked worried and played with subtlety on it to his gain.

"Oh, protector of the poor," he welcomed Peer Khan with slightly ironical intonation. "And what may I sell you today? A wise tortoise for only two annas, a singing lark in a cage, a fish of gold, or a fighting quail?"

"Cow-eating fool, I want none of these," answered Peer Khan rudely.

"Then perhaps a magic jewel as pure as the driven snow on the mountains—one that will tell the faithfulness of a young wife?" asked the magician knowingly.

With dexterity he produced a scintillating cut glass trinket of little value from up his sleeve.

"If your wife wears this for three moons, and she has been faithless to you, it will turn as black as a cobra's tongue."

Peer Khan's eyes lit up, but he hastened to hide his eagerness by lowering his eyelids.

"My wife is beautiful and faithful," he answered, but with a lack of conviction quickly noticed by the magician.

"How can any but Allah tell what is in a woman's heart?" asked the shopkeeper. "The more beautiful she is the less she is to be trusted. She can turn a man's beard white before the allotted time, and be a thorn in his flesh. But with magic much is revealed."

Peer Khan muttered inaudibly into his beard. He was aware that his beard had turned white of late and the thorn of suspicion had long pricked him to a point of sickness.

"How can I tell that you speak the truth?" asked Peer Khan. "That the trinket is indeed magical?"

"Wear it thyself, oh white-bearded one," came the quick retort, "for the trinket foretells as skilfully on a husband . . . were it to turn—" The magician coughed discreetly.

"Son of a ghee-eating pig," shouted the old man, "darest thou insult me?"

"I answered only your question, and sought to prove my honesty," returned the imperturbable magician.

After much haggling the old man bought the trinket and went to the locksmiths next door for a gold padlock and chain with which to fasten it round his wife's slender neck.

"It is a great honour to serve one renowned for having so beautiful a wife," said the handsome young worker in gold. "This lock and chain, once it is truly fastened, can only be removed by the maker or by magic."

Peer Khan returned home well pleased with his bargains, and before departing on his next journey he fastened the trinket round his wife's neck, threatening her, a little foolishly, with its revealing powers and telling her where he came by it.

After three moons he returned home eager and anxious to see the stone at once.

"Come, my pretty lotus flower," he called to Leta from the doorway, "that I may see the stone's colour and know of your shame or purity."

"I come, my master, thy wish is also mine, for the jewel is as white as the driven snow on the mountains," answered Leta demurely.

It was fortunate that the light was poor and that the old man's eyes were tired for had he seen more clearly he would have perceived that the trinket lying in the valley between Leta's youthful breasts was no longer a cheap glass one, but a diamond of considerable value—one that could only have been procured from a dealer in precious stones!

You see now, my friends, you must either believe in the magic of the east (for how else could the change have come about) or in the duplicity of young wives burdened with old husbands. If you were to pay me the compliment of calling me a story teller of veracity it would be impolite of me not to accept.

Peer Khan was so blown up with self pride that his wife was faithful to him and ignored the favours of the young men, that he gave a great feast of rice, chicken, curried prawns and sweetmeats to those who owed him money. The magician and handsome locksmith were also invited.

"I will cancel the interest due by all for one moon," said Peer Khan magnanimously, "for I have proved my young wife faithful to me."

After Peer Khan had retired to sleep with a mind at rest, there was much ribald laughter and merriment for many of the young men present had tasted the sweet fruits of Leta's lips under this selfsame roof.

No one guffawed more loudly than the young locksmith and the magician.

But for the real truth of this story we must look further, beyond the sparkle of precious stones as white as the driven snow from the mountains and the wiles of women. For were not the debts of the young men cancelled, did not the old man with the young wife sleep with an untroubled mind? And Leta's life, was it without pleasure?

Allah is indeed merciful to all.

THE MEN FROM TIBET

by Norman Colgan

IN these days every man is entitled to his own brand of escapism. Mine is Tibet, the country of golden-roofed monasteries, of learned prince-lamas, of magicians and brigand-knights. A country right off the main stream of contemporary life where people act as if self-knowledge were more important than worldly wealth and the saint worthier than the soldier.

When the problems and complexities of daily living threaten to hem me in I visit Tibet. I can see it all so clearly—myself, the regenerate man, disappearing like Conway in "Lost Horizon" over the blizzard-swept Tibetan passes, or sending that cryptic telegram from the foothills of the Himalayas—"Going into the interior—Colgan." And by a strange clairvoyance I hear them say: "and that was the last we ever heard from him."

In the flesh, of course, I have never seen the Holy City of Lhasa, the immense solitudes of the Chang-thang territory, the forests of Po and the ascetic saints of Kham. But I have read every book about Tibet I could lay my hands on: I have talked with the great travellers of Central Asia and seen the beautiful red, green and gold throne of an incarnate lama: I have handled precious documents bearing the personal signature of the Dalai Lama and met real flesh-and-blood inhabitants of the land of my dreams. And perhaps, when I have accumulated enough good karma, I may one day find myself staring at the terraces of the great Potala Palace with the Sacred Mountain rising in the background.

I met my first Tibetan in Paris, in the autumn of 1946, in company with that celebrated explorer and practitioner of the occult, Madame Alexandra David-Neel. He was the incarnate lama Yongden, a tulku or re-manifestation of a saintly predecessor. Exactly what right he had to that exalted title I do not know. But I remember being surprised to find him speaking fluent French and English and wearing glasses and a chromium wristwatch. Despite the Buddhist prohibition on meat-eating he polished off a large plate of chicken, lettuce and chips, and rounded the meal off with chocolate ice-cream and light beer.

That meeting had been an extraordinary piece of good luck. I did not expect it would be repeated. For a man like myself tied to a humdrum existence in London the chances of meeting another Tibetan were about as remote as being dealt a straight flush in poker. But in real life it is always the improbable that happens. In December, 1948, the first trade mission ever to leave Tibet arrived in London.

The professional wits to whom a Tibetan is a cross between a new kind of circus attraction and a member of a backward race got busy. "Yaks Tails into False Beards" ran one headline; the kind of facetious report that is uproariously funny to everyone except those who have a genuine interest in the subject. Having a real

affection for the Tibetan people my sense of humour deserts me when I see them ridiculed.

These reports filled me with the same kind of inward fury as I experienced when I first read Ekai Kawaguchi's summing up of the Tibetans in his book *Three Years in Tibet*, published in the early 1900's. "The Tibetans," wrote "Kawaguchi, "are characterised by four serious defects, these being: filthiness, superstition, unnatural customs (such as polyandry), and unnatural arts. I should be sorely perplexed if I were asked to name their redeeming points . . ."

I can forgive Kawaguchi these remarks for he lived in a more complacent era than our own. At all events the defects of the ignorant Tibetans are more than compensated for by an ancient art; a sense of humour; a profound philosophy; a few saints and sages and freedom from the constant threat of war. If this is ignorance then perish enlightenment!

I met the Mission from Lhasa in their London hotel one Sunday morning. They were, rather disappointingly, dressed in American-style clothes and gay ties. In Tibet they would have been attended by retinues of servants and we should have exchanged the traditional silk scarves. We might even have poked out our tongues at each other for in Tibet the protruding tongue is a respectful salutation. Years ago a British subaltern, unaware of this fact, unmercifully beat up a passing Tibetan who accorded him this courtesy.

Nevertheless, the Tibetans shook hands with me cordially. The Depön offered me an English cigarette from his own packet; Tsepön Shakapba, the leader, settled himself comfortably in an armchair near his interpreter—a young Nepalese called Khaludharma Ratna.

A few months ago the six men had set out from Lhasa by mule over the passes of Tibet on the first stage of a journey round the world. From Siliguri to Calcutta by rail, thence by air to San Francisco, calling at Shanghai, Nanking, Hongkong and Honolulu. In America they interviewed General Eisenhower, Mr. George Marshall and a number of prominent businessmen. Then off again to London to visit Mr. Attlee, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Mayhew, the Foreign under-secretary. Quite a breath-taking experience for men who had never before ventured far beyond the mountain barrier of their feudal homeland.

I should like to be able to say that they were unimpressed by what Matthew Arnold has described as "our ability to move at great speed from one slum to another." I should like to portray them as aloof and detached in the face of Western wonders as befits the high philosophy of their sages. But, of course, they were delighted with everything.

While we were talking a brass band came trumpeting down the street. Two of the Tibetans ran to the window to watch the procession and for a while we had to return

from Lhasa to London. Then, when we were settled again, my photographer's flash bulb exploded like a pistol shot and I dreaded the worst. They might imagine that they had been the victims of an attempted assassination and demand my immediate arrest! But the Tibetan General ran across to the photographer only anxious in case he should have injured himself.

Tsepön Shakapba, the leader, had the fair skin and Mongoloid features characteristic of the pure Tibetan. He smiled rarely and spoke to me through the interpreter. His expression was rather weary and enigmatic. Possibly he was tired of answering the trite questions of Western reporters avid for the "human interest" angle. He is one of the four Finance Secretaries and a fourth-grade official in the Tibetan hierarchy.

Rimshi Pangatshang, the Trade Agent, was another fourth-grade official. Rimshi means fourth-rank (*rimpa*—rank, *shipa*—fourth). He, sturdy and taciturn, spoke only Tibetan.

The Depön (Tibetan equivalent of general, meaning literally "Lord of the Arrow") Undha Surkhang was a young and handsome man with polished manners. He spoke English fluently and showed particular interest in the photographer's camera. He was, he said, taking a cine film of the Mission's tour.

Rather gratifyingly, I was able to surprise him with my knowledge of his background. "Your father," I announced, "was High Commissioner in Kham and you learnt English at the school in Lhasa started by Frank Ludlow."

"How do you know?" he asked in his pleasantly lisping voice. "I am a student of Tibet," I replied as modestly as I could. This, indeed, was my moment!

Seeing the opportunity to introduce my meeting with the author of *My Journey to Lhasa* and *With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet* I asked the young general whether he had heard of Madame David-Neel.

"David-Neel?" he said, knitting his brows. "No, I don't think so." He turned to the other members of the Mission. There was a spate of rapid Tibetan and a shaking of heads.

My face fell. Imagine them not knowing the only white woman ever to become a Tibetan lama!

Then the Depön said suddenly: "I remember meeting a white woman at Gyantse about 1923. She was dressed as a Tibetan holy woman. I was only a boy at

the time." My spirits rose; I felt that they would now regard me as a friend rather than a sensation-seeking newshound.

For professional reasons I had to ask them the routine questions about the purpose of the Mission. I got the stock answers. Yes, Tibet was offering wool, furs, yak tails and musk in exchange for gold and silver to use as monetary reserves. Tibet needed a variety of manufactured products, particularly agricultural machinery. Tibet found it difficult to get gold because her independence was not recognised and she was forced to trade through India. No business had been done but the mission anticipated that . . . and so forth and so on.

I hurried through these questions. Frankly they bored me. My Tibet was the land of Milarepa and Marpa, the Tibetan saints, and of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism. Rashly, I attempted to utter some phrases in Tibetan. Had they, I enquired, ever seen the fabulous *lung-gom-pa*, those strange runners of Northern Tibet, whose training in Yogic practices is said to enable them to cover vast distances in a kind of trance, their feet hardly touching the ground.

"*Lung-gom-pa. Lung-gom-pa!*" the Tibetans imitated my pronunciation exactly and looked blankly at each other. Then the Depön's face lit up.

"He means *lung-gom-pa*," he said and the others smiled broadly. "*Lung-gom-pa—oh yes.*"

The language barrier, of course, was really insuperable. The difficulties of speaking to the Tsepon through his interpreter reminded me of that apocryphal Boer War story about the native runner who committed to memory the message "Lieutenant Brown is going to advance—send reinforcements" and which he finally delivered as "Lieutenant Brown is going to a dance—send three-and-fourpence."

Nevertheless, the meeting with the Mission brought me a long step nearer Lhasa. And I cherish a personal memento of the occasion written on the fly-leaf of a book on Tibetan Buddhism. Just under the signature of Alexandra David-Neel each member of the Mission signed his name. It is true I can't identify them because they are written in Tibetan; but it will be something to show my children when they are old enough to share my interest—unless they grow up with a confirmed hatred of Tibet, which is only too likely.

Education in Korea.

A six-year plan to broaden the scope of compulsory education is under way in Korea. It calls for concentration on increasing school buildings during the first three years and the installation of equipment during the remaining three. Last year children were taught in two or three shifts because of the lack of schools. Children between the ages of 6 and 11 last year numbered 2,971,712, but 263,081 of these were not admitted to schools on account of the shortage of facilities. The plan also includes an expensive scheme for the abolition of illiteracy (there are now about 5,560,000 illiterates in southern Korea) and the creation of "people's universities" to give working people a chance for higher education.

Korea continues to be plagued by a shortage of teachers. Last year primary schools needed 3,457 additional teachers and middle schools were short by 1,689.

Asian Statistical Training Centre.

A Statistical Training Centre for Asia and the Far East will be established in New Delhi this month. Jointly sponsored by the F.A.O., the United Nations and the Government of India, the centre will train students over a period of 14 weeks in all aspects of planning and conducting censuses and programmes for current statistics. There will also be refresher courses in mathematics and statistics.

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ECONOMIC SECTION

Oil Resources In The Far East

by Howard Fox

BEFORE the war, Indonesia, Burma, and the Brunei region of Borneo were large exporters of petroleum products, while Ceylon, China, the Indian subcontinent, Indo-China, Siam, and the Philippines, were all importers. In 1941, the production of petroleum in these parts has been calculated to 72,400,000 barrels* compared with a consumption of 78,400,000. Thus, with the rising industrialisation of the Eastern World, it is clear that the output of its oil industry will assume an ever-increasing importance. While before the war production and consumption were not greatly out of balance, the current low level of production, together with growing needs and the shortage of coal have turned the region into a heavy net importer.

So far as is known at present Asia and the Far East do not rank among the most important oil yielding quarters of the globe. Estimated reserves are small—less than three per cent. of the oil world total, and the region's total output in 1947 represented less than one per cent. of world production. Against this should be set the fact that large parts have been very inadequately prospected.

CHINA.

The oil produced in the whole of China during 1947 was equal merely to 90 minutes consumption in the United States. This comparison well illustrates the backward condition of the Chinese oil industry, but it must not be forgotten that this is a new industry for China. It really sprang up in the course of the last war with Japan, although at the beginning of the century attempts were made to exploit the fields in North Shensi and later in Szechuan. From 1914 to 1916 the Socony Vacuum Company, Inc., drilled seven wells in the Yenchang area of North Shensi but gave up because of poor results and acute transport difficulties. In 1934, the National Resources Commission began where the American undertaking had left off and drilled seven more wells; two yielded oil. The Communist forces moved in during 1935 and the work came to an end. So far as can be ascertained, oil prospecting and production has never since been attempted in this part of China. The Commission began exploration in Szechuan in 1936 since when five wells have been drilled. No oil has been forthcoming, although deposits of natural gas were tapped. A lucrative field was, however, discovered in 1939 at Laochuenmiao, in Yumen, Kansu, where topping and cracking plants were

* Seven barrel=about 1 metric ton.

completed in 1947. Production has been much affected by the difficulty in obtaining equipment and in 1946-47 the yield from this field began to decline. In 1946, production equalled 514,000 barrels; in 1947 it was 377,000. During the first half of last year output showed an upward trend.

Petroleum consumption in China last year was about 20 million barrels, including all kinds of products, while her annual indigenous production was running at approximately 450,000 barrels, or some 2.5 per cent. of total requirements. The Kaohsiung refinery, owned by the Chinese Petroleum Corporation, though capable of refining six million barrels a year, relies totally upon imports of crude oil for its operation.

It is agreed by Chinese and American experts that below the great south-western plain of China there are possible oil-bearing formations, but the underground reserves of the country are very little known. Exploration in recent years has discovered many likely regions which, while not proven, are at least promising. According to Mr. C. C. Sun, senior geologist of the Chinese Petroleum Corporation, the Zongor, Tarim, Szechuan, Shensi-Kansu basins, the Mongolian plateaux, Shensi basin, and Honan-Hopeh plains, all have petroleum possibilities, especially the sedimentary areas in the thinly populated and distant north-west. The total area with such possibilities is reckoned at about 1,800,000 square kilometres, with the most promising regions occupying 70 per cent. of this. Given peaceful conditions, and enormous capitalisation, there is a reasonable chance that China can be made self-sufficient as to oil even with a greatly raised level of industrialisation.

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JAPAN.

Petroleum has been obtained in commercial quantities in the Japanese islands ever since 1874, although production has been comparatively small. Very intensive efforts were made during the pre-war years in an attempt to make the country self-supporting, and maximum production was reached in 1939 with 2,500,000 barrels. In 1948, output was about 1,120,000 barrels, slightly less than in 1947.

Oil yielding areas are confined to the north-western region of Honshu and central Hokkaido. Between them these parts contain 50 small fields containing about 4,200 wells. Easily the most important are the Honshu fields where more than 95 per cent. of the Japanese oil production is carried out. Analysing more closely, it is found that the Honshu fields can be divided into two groups of widely differing yield.

Firstly, within a 10 mile radius of the city Akita lies a rough semi-circle of fields which, before the war, yielded an annual quantity of 1,800,000 barrels, or about 70 per cent. of the total raised in the Japanese Empire. These fields comprise Toyokawa, Kurokawa, Michikawa, Asahigawa, Yuri, Oguni, Katte and Hibiki. The second Honshu area lies in the Niigata Prefecture, some 130 miles south-west of Akita, and before the war produced about 23 per cent. of the total Japanese yield. This region embraces oil fields running from Niitsu to Takada and includes Omo, Higashaigama, Nanokaichi, Nishiyama, and Kubiki. Only a very limited output was drawn pre-war from Hokkaido; about 76,000 barrels a year. The only fields of importance are to be found at Masuho, in the Soya district of the island's northern extremities; Ishikari, in the neighbourhood of the town of that name on the west coast; and Yufutso, some seven miles north-east of Hayakita. A great deal of work was concentrated by pre-war Japanese governments upon coal-based synthetic fuel production. An overall yield of about 4,200,000 barrels was obtained annually from 23 synthetic oil plants; even larger quantities could have been produced during the war had not the rapid conquest of the East Indies and the rehabilitation of the oil fields at Seria, Tarakan and Tamarinda ruled out the necessity. At the end of the war only about half a dozen coal-oil plants (with an estimated annual capacity of 60,000 tons) were left and these are at present being utilised for the manufacture of synthetic ammonia for fertilisers.

As for refinery capacity, both before and during the war, this was far in excess of the available amount of home produced crude oil; in 1944 the country possessed about 20 plants with a total capacity well in excess of normal home requirements. At the end of the war there were seven refineries in working order with an annual capacity of about 3,200,000 barrels. None of these refineries are up to date or capable of economic operation. A complete overhaul and re-expansion of this industry is imperative if it to make a major contribution to the country's economic recovery.

Japan's proved resources are, generally speaking, negligible if judged by world standards. There are, however, several promising areas especially in eastern Hokkaido and at the Pacific coast of Honshu. In fact, expert opinion indicates that the paucity of known

Japanese resources is largely the result of poor application of geological science. Locations which have been selected for drilling have not been the best; nor has the maximum amount of information been gleaned from many of the tests which have been carried out. Under American guidance this could, of course, be remedied fairly quickly, and it seems that guidance, together with the necessary finance, will be provided. Agreements have been concluded between the Japan Petroleum Company and the Caltex Oil Company, and also between the East Asiatic Fuel Company and the Standard Vacuum Oil Company. Under the latter agreement the Japanese undertakings relinquishes 51 per cent. of its stock to the Americans at a good price and counts the bargain very satisfactory.

Under a directive issued by General MacArthur's Headquarters on September 14th last year, the Japanese petroleum industry, which since the end of the war had been under control of the Governmental and occupation authorities, was restored to private hands. Prior to the war, two companies were engaged in the importing, marketing, and direct distributing of oil—the Rising Sun Petroleum Company (a Royal Dutch Shell subsidiary) and the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company. Several American undertakings, including Texas, Union of California, Gulf, General Petroleum and Tidewater Associated, also had a hand in marketing though this was affected through Japanese agencies and not by direct distribution. Additionally, there were numerous Japanese firms in the trade the more important being Mitsui, Maruzen, Mitsubishi, Ogura, and the Nippon Oil Company. Upon entry into the war the Japanese Ministry of Finance administered the industry and the properties were placed at the disposal of the army, navy and Sekiyu Kyohan (a joint sales organisation into which the Government had merged independent distributors shortly before the war) and its successor company, created in 1942, which became the only oil distributor for the civilian market.

SAKHALIN.

Before the war the Japanese had some oil fields in the southern part of Sakhalin. The yield was very low and the main Japanese production regions in the island came from concessions round about Okha, in the Soviet-owned north. By an agreement announced on March 31st, 1944, the Japanese transferred both oil and coal concessions to the Soviet Union into whose hands the whole island has now fallen. The Sakhalin fields are of considerable importance for they belong to the most promising type known. Moreover, up to 1944, at least, they were one of the few Far East areas of recognised high yield. The petroleum zone covers almost the entire northern half of the island and the only operator now is the Soviet Government. In 1939 (latest year of published figures) the total crude production was 3,869,000 barrels, of which an estimated 1,250,000 went to Japan. According to one unofficial report, the Soviet Union produced about 4,500,000 barrels in the island during 1941.

FORMOSA.

There is a small belt of oil running down the western side of the island of Formosa with two principal fields at Shikoko and Kinsui. There are also deep gas wells in

this area. In view of the present curious political standing of this island it might be useful to outline its oil history

The Japanese sank a total of 251 gas wells over 24 locations though only in seven did they find reserves of commercial value. The amounts of crude oil which may be gained from Formosa today are frankly negligible. The fields, having been intensively exploited for upwards of 50 years, are practically exhausted although when the

Japanese surrendered 72 wells were in production. Since then, the Chinese Petroleum Corporation had completed three new wells and reconditioned 18 old ones by last November. More have since been capped for later use. Though the 1947 production was slightly above the 1946 level, according to Mr. Kai-Yung King, vice-president of the corporation, the general tendency is one of declining output.

British Motorcar Industry and the Far East

THE British Motorcar Industry plays an important part in Britain's post-war export drive. While the 1938 monthly average exports of cars, taxis and commercial vehicles (assembled, unassembled and chassis) amounted to less than £950,000, the monthly average exports during the first half of 1949 reached the value of over £9 million. The table below shows the development of Britain's car exports during the first six months of 1947, 1948 and 1949.

The Far East represents a substantial market for this industry. Australia, New Zealand and India took together nearly one-third of the total exports during the first half of 1949. Their imports of chassis are particularly

noticeable, as these countries are developing their own motor-car industry, consisting partly of assembly plants, but partly also of works producing complete indigenous cars. The latest development in the building up of India's motor-car industry is the arrangement between a British firm and the Indian Government for the manufacture of cars and trucks in India.

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| | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 |
| Total exports incl. to | 13,854 | 28,100 | 30,206 | 4,836 | 6,895 | 9,939 | 1,389 | 7,972 | 10,779 |
| India ... | 1,118 | 1,705 | 1,132 | 130 | 157 | 487 | 30 | 196 | 267 |
| Pakistan ... | | 88 | 279 | | | | | | |
| Malaya ... | 450 | 757 | 590 | 106 | 134 | 154 | | | |
| Ceylon ... | 224 | 464 | 366 | 26 | 58 | 64 | | | |
| Hong Kong ... | 221 | 198 | 304 | | | | | | |
| Australia ... | 488 | 4,167 | 5,559 | 14 | 130 | 779 | 140 | 598 | 2,139 |
| New Zealand ... | 1,285 | 1,543 | 960 | 47 | 75 | 227 | 44 | 376 | 757 |
| NEI ... | 84 | 74 | 356 | 127 | 90 | 241 | | | |
| Thailand ... | 25 | 54 | 79 | | | | | | |
| | Chassis with engines | | | | | | | | |
| Total exports incl. to | 1,207 | 2,289 | 2,805 | 5,985 | 9,763 | 11,375 | | | |
| Australia ... | 984 | 1,971 | 2,271 | 466 | 2,198 | 2,744 | | | |
| New Zealand ... | 23 | 69 | 213 | 260 | 375 | 623 | | | |
| India ... | | | | 204 | 496 | 1,013 | | | |
| Malaya ... | | | | 80 | 276 | 86 | | | |
| Hong Kong ... | | | | 22 | 105 | 75 | | | |

(All figures in thous. £. The figures refer to the first half of 1947, 1948 and 1949 respectively. The 1947 figures for India refer to Brit. India.)

Canada's Motorcar Industry Exports to the Far East

The following statistics compare Canada's exports to the Far East during the first five months of this year with those of the corresponding period of 1948 and show the importance of this market for Canada's Motorcar Industry.* Despite the dollar shortage which restricts

imports from Canada, nearly half of that country's total motor-car exports went to India, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand.

* See also "Canada's Trade with the Far East," *Eastern World*, January-February, 1949, issue.

The first 5 months of 1948 and 1949
(all figures in thous. Canad. dollars)

| | New freight cars | | | | New Passenger Cars | | | | Motor Car parts | |
|------------------------|------------------|-------|------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| | 1 ton or less | | over 1 ton | | up to 1,000 dollars | | over | | 1948 | 1949 |
| | 1948 | 1949 | 1948 | 1949 | 1948 | 1949 | 1948 | 1949 | | |
| Total exports incl. to | 3,589 | 1,653 | 3,476 | 2,093 | 5,520 | 3,046 | 2,041 | 3,580 | 7,434 | 4,285 |
| India ... | 102 | 44 | 86 | 327 | | | 336 | 193 | 1,136 | 409 |
| Pakistan ... | | 169 | | 298 | | | | 353 | | 111 |
| Ceylon ... | 4 | 10 | 114 | 15 | | | 52 | 49 | 36 | 8 |
| Malaya ... | 341 | 22 | 764 | 65 | 1 | 3 | 318 | 179 | 92 | 123 |
| Hong Kong ... | 12 | 2 | 10 | 15 | | | 108 | 110 | 3 | 3 |
| Australia ... | 681 | 464 | 1,067 | 729 | 3,258 | 1,646 | 79 | 4 | 763 | 934 |
| New Zealand ... | 219 | 182 | 33 | 54 | 556 | | 41 | 493 | 333 | 330 |
| Indonesia ... | | 13 | 113 | 184 | 115 | | 115 | 156 | 202 | 168 |
| Thailand ... | 6 | 5 | | | | | 7 | 13 | | |
| Philippines ... | | | | | | | 7 | | | |
| Korea ... | | | | | | | | | 7 | |
| Burma ... | | | | | | | 7 | 3 | | |
| China ... | | | | | | | | | 77 | 1 |

CEYLON'S FOREIGN TRADE

An exclusive interview with Mr. C. E. P. Jayasuriya (Trade Commissioner for Ceylon in London).

DURING the first half of 1949, Ceylon's imports amounted to Rs. 566.3 million, an increase of Rs. 46 million compared with the corresponding period of 1948. This was mainly due to bigger imports of grain and flour—the value of which amounted to Rs. 188.2 million and 218.6 million during the first half of 1948 and 1949 respectively. Rice imports rose from 4.3 million cwts. worth Rs. 122.2 million, to 5.4 million cwts. worth Rs. 159.5 million of which Burma delivered 3.6 million cwts. The imports of wheat flour, almost entirely from Australia, dropped from 1.9 million cwts. valued at Rs. 56.6 million to 1.6 million cwts. worth Rs. 46.1 million.

Ceylon's total exports in the first half of 1949 amounted to Rs. 492 million, a decrease of Rs. 6.4 million as against the corresponding period of 1948. Exports of home produced goods rose by Rs. 3.4 million, while re-exports dropped by Rs. 9.8 million. Thus, Ceylon's foreign trade showed an unfavourable balance of Rs. 74 million during the first half of 1949 and of Rs. 22 million during the first half of 1948. But during May-June this year, imports amounted to Rs. 182 million while the total exports reached Rs. 189 million, showing a favourable balance of Rs. 7 million.

The United Kingdom remains Ceylon's greatest single customer. During the first half of this year, one third of Rs. 149.8 million worth of Ceylon's total exports went to Britain. They consisted mostly of: black tea for Rs. 100.9 million; coconut oil worth Rs. 30.6 million and rubber to the amount of Rs. 11.1 million.

As long as people in Britain drink tea, the shipping of large quantities of that commodity there from Ceylon is

assured; and as long as the world fat shortage continues, there is no difficulty in disposing of coconut oil.

The trade balance with the U.S.A. is still favourable, although Ceylon's exports to that country have dropped considerably:

| | (in million rupees) | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | First half 1948 | First half 1949 |
| Exports from Ceylon to U.S.A. ... | 88.2 | 56.6 |
| Imports from the U.S.A. ... | 41.6 | 33.6 |
| Ceylon's favourable balance ... | 46.6 | 23.0 |

Following the recent decision taken by the Commonwealth Finance Ministers in London, Ceylon intends to cut her imports from the U.S.A. approximately by a further 25 per cent. On the other hand, it is of the greatest importance for Ceylon to increase her exports to the dollar area. Ceylon's rubber exports have decreased as follows:

| | First half 1948 | | First half 1949 | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| | quantity mill. lbs. | value mill. Rs. | quantity mill. lbs. | value mill. Rs. |
| Ceylon's total exports | 105.8 | 74.6 | 99.9 | 57.9 |
| of which to the U.S.A. | 53.6 | 33.7 | 46.5 | 25.7 |

While the total rubber exports show a decrease of 5 per cent. in quantity, their value dropped by nearly 40 per cent., owing to the lower rubber price.

As the U.S.A. represent the biggest single market for the Dominion's rubber, Ceylon intends to conduct a propaganda campaign in the United States, showing the superiority of natural rubber over synthetic rubber. Malaya has already assigned \$2 million for this purpose. Ceylon favours the formation of an organisation for rubber similar to the International Tea Marketing Expansion Board and plans to modernise production methods to

ECONOMIC NOTES

NETHERLANDS-INDONESIAN COMPANY.

The High Representative of the Dutch Crown in Indonesia has been authorised by decree to establish the "Netherlands-Indonesian Company for Financing the Recovery of Indonesia, Ltd." with a capital of 300 million Indonesian guilders. Half of the 50,000 priority shares of 1,000 guilders each will be held by the Dutch State, and half by Indonesia. 250,000 other shares of 1,000 guilders will be issued by the management at a rate to be determined later. The shares held by the Dutch State have been paid up in a special Treasury Account in favour of the Netherlands-Indonesian Company.

The management will consist of two directors and, if the Crown so decides, a President-Director. The Company will, in practice, function as a Bank. It will furnish capital to all undertakings, Indonesian as well as Dutch and foreign, if it is considered to be in the interest of Indonesia's reconstruction.

A goodwill mission of European—mostly Dutch—industrialists visited Jogjakarta recently for interviews with Republican leaders. President Sukarno told the mission that the Republic would follow an open door policy in finance and economy, and would encourage western capital investments provided that there were guarantees against the exploitation of Indonesian labour.

MINERALS IN THE COLONIES.

The Panel set up in August, 1947, with the aim "To review, commodity by commodity, the possibility of increasing Colonial production, having regard on the one hand to the interests of the Colonial Empire, and,

on the other hand, to the present and prospective world needs, and the desire of increasing foreign exchange resources," has issued a Report which reviews the position of the important minerals in British Colonies and contains interesting data on world supply and demand of these materials. Radio-active minerals, gold, tin and oil are not dealt with.

It is a valuable publication for reference purposes containing concise data on Malaya, Brunei, North Borneo, Sarawak and Hong Kong.

ANGLO-CYLON FINANCE AGREEMENT

Not the least important background element of the recent Anglo-Ceylon financial agreement (which includes the release of twice the amount of sterling allowed last year) is the fact that, under prevailing price levels, the dollar area is almost 100 per cent. cheaper for some of Ceylon's requirements than the sterling. As Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, her Finance Minister (who gave an exclusive interview to

enable the material to compete more effectively with the synthetic product. Also the establishment of a Rubber Research Institute in Ceylon on the lines of the existing Tea Research Institute is contemplated.

Ceylon has always been a good market for U.K. goods. The imports from Britain rose from Rs. 87 million during the first half of 1948 to Rs. 92.7 million during the first six months of 1949. This represents about 16 per cent. of Ceylon's total imports and is only second to imports from Burma, the Dominion's main supplier of rice. Ceylon is prepared to pay higher prices for British textiles than for similar goods from other countries, but the U.K. textile industry is not able to satisfy her entire demands. The Dominion, therefore, has restarted to import textiles from Japan.

In the first half of 1949, these imports were valued at Rs. 11.2 million (as against Rs. 7.8 million during the corresponding period of 1948) while Ceylon exports to Japan during that time amounted to Rs. 1.5 million (Rs. 0.5 million 1948) thus representing an unfavourable trade balance for Ceylon. The trade between Ceylon and Japan was on a large scale in the pre-war period, and the Dominion hopes that negotiations between the sterling area and Japan will lead to an agreement for a large and balanced trade between the two countries.

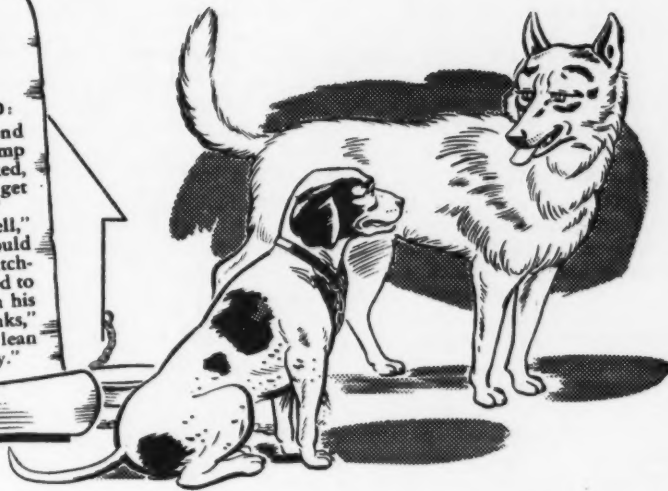
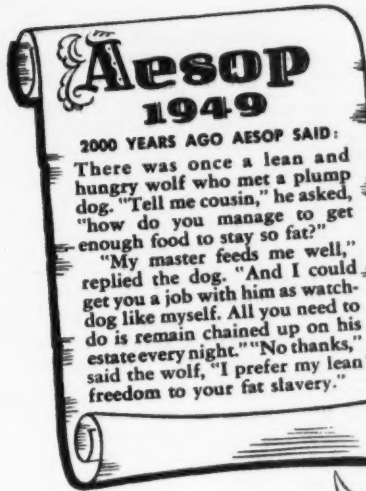
The following table gives a comparison of Ceylon's imports of some cotton goods during the first six months of 1948 and 1949, showing the increase of imports from U.K., India and Japan, and the decrease of imports from the U.S.A.

(Figures refer to the first half of each year. In million Rs.)

| piece goods | Total | | Ceylon's imports of some cotton piece goods | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------|---|------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|
| | 1948 | 1949 | from U.K. | from India | from Japan | from U.S.A. | from U.K. | from India | from Japan | from U.S.A. |
| Bleached cotton | 9.6 | 12.9 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 0.6 | 3.0 | 0.6 | 3.7 | 2.4 | 1.8 |
| Dyed cotton | 25.3 | 34.5 | 2.4 | 5.4 | 15.8 | 19.1 | 1.0 | 1.7 | 4.2 | 5.8 |
| Grey cotton | 1.1 | 1.8 | 0.02 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Printed cotton | 20.5 | 13.1 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 12.6 | 6.6 |

Development schemes for agriculture, industry, mining and transport have been prepared in Ceylon, and in this connection imports of capital goods and machinery, including railway rolling stock and medium tractors (25-30 H.P.) are being negotiated. It is to be hoped that British industry will be able to revise their price quotations and delivery terms to obtain these orders, as at present more favourable offers have been received from

other countries. To carry out these development schemes, Ceylon would welcome and give every assistance to participation by foreign capital. The Dominion intends to increase its trade with European countries and contemplates the appointment of Trade Commissioners for France, the Benelux countries and Italy next year. For the time being this area is covered by Ceylon's Trade Commissioner in London.



FREEDOM IS BETTER THAN SLAVERY . . .

Equal to man's desire for life itself is his desire for freedom. Man is an individual. He demands opportunity for self-expression and personal advancement, realizing that such things are the warp and woof of his very existence.

Men who appreciate this fact cannot and will not accept an economic theory that is designed to crush the individual . . . a theory that strikes at the very roots of human nature. Rather they prefer to construct upon the established foundations of free enterprise a system designed to allow for the natural instinct of self-preservation and the unhampered development of the individual to the betterment of society as a whole.

Capitalism and Free Enterprise are jointly charged by their enemies as being a dictatorship of wealth. An intelligent study

of our economic system places these charges in their true light . . . proves them to be malicious propaganda aimed at the destruction of democracy. But even if Capitalism and Free Enterprise were to constitute a dictatorship of wealth, would it still not be preferable to the stifling of individualism by bureaucratic control? For no matter how much the control of wealth alone is exerted, it still leaves the individual with inalienable rights and privileges which are part and parcel of the democratic way of life.

. . .

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Eastern World in the August issue) has truly declared, this means a lot to an under-developed nation seeking the bare necessities of life. Recognition of Ceylon's right to possess a central bank reserve of her own, went on the Finance Minister, was the only incentive his Government had to offer the people to accept further dollar cuts.

The agreement recognises that Ceylon is at all times free to dispose of her current earnings abroad, and in the circumstances in which she continues to earn a net surplus of dollars on current account, the British Government agrees in principle that Ceylon may retain from that surplus, an independent reserve of gold and dollars to be held by the Reserve Bank of Ceylon when it is set up. Up to \$ million may, in this fashion, be retained during the current year. This sum must be set against the amount (quoted by Mr. Jayawardena in his interview with *Eastern World*) of \$300 million contributed to the central sterling dollar pool since its inception in 1939, and about \$33 million last year.

According to the terms of the agreement, the arrangement between

the United Kingdom and Ceylon on the use of the latter's sterling balances (reliably estimated to be about £45 million) has been extended for a further year to June 30th, 1950. Provision has, however, been made for a further release of £7 million to the No. 1 Account to cover the period, compared with the £3.5 million released last year.

Additionally, Ceylon continues to have the right, in the event of a substantial unforeseen rise in the price of essential food - stuffs unbalanced by other sources of income, to call, after consultation, for an extra £1 million to be added to the working balance. While Ceylon, unlike India and Pakistan, will not formally re-join the sterling area, she intends to contribute her surplus dollar earnings to its foreign exchange resources.

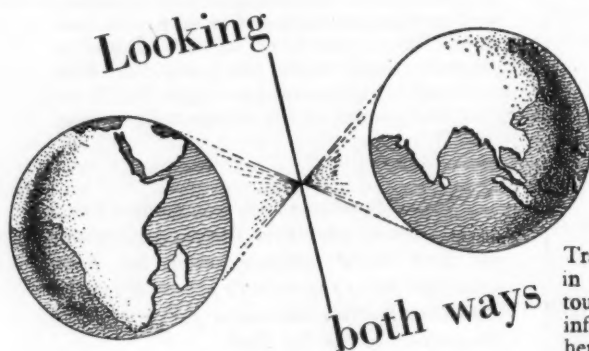
More than one influential voice in London has been raised in protest against the decision to elevate above last year's level the sterling sum now released to Ceylon: "... why double it?" enquired the Financial Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, and concluded that "There is a mystery here, a political mystery, for which

economic arguments provide no clue." Earlier in his article, he observed that, following the Indian and Pakistan sterling agreements, the Ceylon pact made safe the three largest Eastern markets for British exports for another year.

That may be so, but Ceylon is a market well worth cultivating as her dollar earning capacity well illustrates. This must not, however, be taken for granted. It is known, for example, that Mr. Jayawardena pressed in London for a fixed price, for at least three years, for his country's rubber production. This commodity arrangement, he suggested, should be fixed on the same basis as Ceylon's bulk coconut and tea contracts with the British Ministry of Food and the Pakistan Government.

U.S.S.R. AND PAKISTAN.

The current trade talks between Pakistan and the Soviet Union in Karachi will undoubtedly lead to increased deliveries of Russian capital goods to Pakistan. In 1948-49, Pakistan had a favourable balance of about £1,300,000 in her trade with the U.S.S.R.



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Sir Isaac Newton



Sir Isaac Newton, who has been described as the greatest man of science of all time, is best known, to the general public, for his famous observation of the falling apple. This led him to formulate his Laws of Motion, the fundamental laws on which the branch of mathematical physics known as dynamics is based. His achievements in optics and mathematics have obscured his work as a chemist. Newton's contact with chemistry began when he was at school at Grantham, where he lodged with an apothecary. Throughout his life he displayed great interest in the chemistry of metals, much of his work being of a very practical nature, such as the production of alloys for use on the mirrors of the reflecting telescope he designed.

Newton maintained a private chemical laboratory at

Trinity College, Cambridge. His principal service to chemistry was his clarification of the "corpuscular" theory of matter. This theory, which held that matter consisted of large numbers of small particles, was applied by Newton to explain the facts he observed while experimenting. Newton was born at Woolsthorpe, near Grantham, on Christmas Day, 1642. Entering Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1661, he became Professor of Mathematics in the University at the very early age of twenty-seven. He was appointed Warden of the Royal Mint in 1696, and Master three years later. This great Englishman died in 1727, leaving behind him a reputation which has increased with the passing of the centuries.



